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A Quarterly for the Independent Thinker

VOLUME 14 Winter · 1944–45 NUMBER 1

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— Emerson

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Winter · 1944–45 *Vol. 14 · No. 1*

CONTENTS

Wendell Willkie: The "Man Thinking" . . . . *Will D. Howe* 7

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR FORUM

The Coming Economic World Pattern

Free Trade or State Domination? . . . . . *Henry Hazlitt* 9

Nations Are Economic Partners . . . . . *Max Lerner* 15

A Design for Fighting . . . . . *Harlow Shapley* 19

Conversations with the Old Man . . . . . *Paul Wolfe* 33

Population in a World at War . . . . . *Louis I. Dublin* 45

Dante's Own Comedy . . . . . *Jefferson B. Fletcher* . . 60

Animus Redundant, *A Sonnet Sequence* . . . . *Robert Simeon Adams* . . 72

The Theatre Indivisible . . . . . *Frederic McConnell* . . . 77

The Radio University in Peace and War . . . . *Eric Underwood* 86

The Changing Picture of Heredity . . . . . *Caryl P. Haskins* 97

Footprints on the Sands of Time: *The Dictionary of American Biography* . . . . . *Ruth and Edward Brecher* 106

THE REVOLVING BOOKSTAND

A Sheaf of Novels . . . . . *Robert Penn Warren* . . 115

OUR READERS COMMENT 123

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The Editorial Board of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR *takes great pleasure in announcing the election to its membership of R. L. Duffus, Max Lerner, Paul Robeson, and Sumner Welles.*

Wendell Willkie: The "Man Thinking"

To one who knew Wendell Willkie the lasting impression was of vitality of body, mind and spirit. It began for some of us on a September day in 1909 when he appeared on the campus of Indiana University, a young man, attractive and eager, who soon made a place for himself among his fellows as one who had a purpose in being there. He early became known as a good talker, seriously interested in reading and in arguing on the subjects of politics, history and social justice. He was especially earnest in his application to writing — not as one of the fine arts, but as a tool to make what he thought clear and to render his position unmistakable.

Maturing in a community of folk with the memories and traditions of Lincoln, he grew in his devotion to his state and his country, his loyalty to his people, and his remarkable tolerance of the opinions of others. No one called him brilliant, but all admired his splendid courage, his healthy good humor and the hopefulness that radiated from a vivid personality. Clear in one's memory are occasions when one met him in the classroom and on the campus, or when one heard him speak with a downright conviction in political debate among his classmates. When he went forth, it was the common belief that this young man would be heard from.

Then came the World War. There was no doubt as to whether Wendell Willkie would go — only the question of what branch of the service he would enter. There the same qualities of courage, friendliness and understanding endeared him to his fellow soldiers, who liked afterward to tell stories of his helpfulness. We followed him through the years, watched his advance, and heard with delight of little acts of kindness and thoughtfulness while he served as president of a big utility company.

During the months preceding his nomination for the Presidency, when he was being urged by persons in all sections of the country, it seemed that he was having a great struggle within himself. On the one side were the challenge of the great responsibility, the ideals of his country, its history, its future; on the other were his modesty and humility, his doubts as to whether he could do the job as he thought it ought to be done. To those who watched him in those days of waiting there was something not ordinary in his struggle to decide. One memory is most distinct — an occasion where he was first introduced on the radio to an audience of several thousand admirers in New York City, brought together by a small group of his Hoosier classmates and friends. As he waited for the time to speak, his face was a picture of devotion and resolution which will be long remembered.

Then came his decision. From that time there was no wavering. His confidence and hopefulness never left him. Even in political defeat he was not embittered. He was hurt that some of his acts and words were misinterpreted and misunderstood; but with it all he seemed to grow, and latent powers

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which not even his closest friends had realized that he possessed came to the front. He lost none of his humor, none of his interest in the little things of every day, but seemed to come into possession of a superhuman sympathy with peoples and races of whom he had had only the most remote knowledge.

If that growth was like a miracle, not less so was the expanding appreciation of his character — until he became for millions the leader of those who were unselfishly trying to see the light and find a way out of chaos. The secret of his power lay not in what he could give in substance; it went forth as the fruit of his spirit. That is Wendell Willkie's gift to his country and to the world. He showed in great way what a man can do in his own time to give light and hope to troubled souls. It mattered not whether those who heard held the same views — what was important was that there should be honesty, intelligence, conviction and courage.

Yet all this might be said another way: perhaps it is best to think of the miracle rather as the natural growth of a man when no warping or distorting process intervenes to impede that growth. The moment before his first address to a New York audience, the days after his defeat in the election of 1940, the trip he made around the world, the writing of *One World*, all these various signposts along the road of his gradually expanding vision and sympathy — what are these but insights into the story of "Man Thinking"? As R. L. Duffus put it in his review of *An American Program*, Wendell Willkie "believed that thinking was an enterprise." And he lived his belief.

A strong man struck down in mid-career! The loss — a great friend, a great American, a great world citizen gone; the gain — the memory of a brave warrior who came from among us, believed in us and taught us not to be afraid. Can one despair of the future in the presence of his wonderful example?

Will D. Howe

The Editors announce with pride that Wendell Willkie had accepted nomination to the Editorial Board of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR *some two months before his death. We wish to express our deep sense of personal loss.*

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The American Scholar Forum

THE COMING ECONOMIC WORLD PATTERN

Free Trade or State Domination?

Henry Hazlitt

Freedom of trade, in the eyes of Adam Smith and his nineteenth-century successors in the liberal tradition, meant freedom from government interference. All that the "classical" economists asked of governments in the field of international trade was that they should *permit it to occur.* They wanted a removal of prohibitions and of nearly all tariffs. But they did not ask for positive "encouragement" or artificial stimulants. They were as much opposed to bounties as they were to barriers.

What the older liberals meant by freedom, in short, was freedom of the individual citizen. They asked that he be free to sell his goods to whatever country and whatever market would pay him the best price for them. They asked that he be free to buy whatever he wanted wherever he could get it cheapest. They argued that these freedoms were not only good in themselves, but that they represented by far the best means to bring about the most efficient division of labor and to maximize world production and world consumption. All they asked of government was that it enforce the laws against fraud, force, and theft and that it refrain from debasing the currency.

The world barriers to international trade in the nineteen thirties, for which every large nation was in part responsible, but in the erection of which the totalitarian governments went to the greatest lengths, brought about such chaos that few responsible persons now undertake to defend them. High tariffs, import quotas, export subsidies, competitive currency depreciation, blocked currencies, bilateral arrangements, forced barter — all these are today deplored by lip in all respectable circles. The demand now is for International Cooperation.

I

But when the concrete proposals for this international cooperation are examined, it turns out to be something radically different from the international cooperation hoped for by the older liberals. It is not the freedom of the private citizens of any country to trade with the private citizens of any other. It is not primarily the cooperation among private citizens of different countries at all. It is primarily cooperation among governments. As in the thirties, it is governments that are going to take the matter in hand. But instead, as in the wicked thirties, of restricting trade and making economic war

Author of several books, including *A New Constitution Now*, HENRY HAZLITT has been on the editorial staff of the *New York Times* since 1934.

The exigencies of time made it impossible for the two contributors to this number's Forum to read each other's papers before publication. Both contributors have been invited to reply by letter, for publication in the Spring issue.

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upon each other, this time, we are told, the governments are going to direct and stimulate trade in the interests of peace.

It is a pleasant fantasy; but there are the gravest reasons for doubting that it will ever be realized. There are the strongest reasons, on the other hand, for fearing that this kind of intergovernmental cooperation will break down, and that when it does the resulting chaos in international trade and economic relations will be greater than ever.

For government officials, even when they really understand (which is very rarely) the basic economic forces that they are trying to control, are almost never disinterested. They are almost certain to reflect the special interests of some political pressure group. The interests of the pressure groups represented by the bureaucrats of one nation are certain to clash with those of the pressure groups represented by the bureaucrats of another. And these conflicting interests, precisely because they are represented by their respective governments, are far more likely to clash openly, directly and politically than in a world of genuine free trade.

But perhaps, before we come back to these larger issues, it would be well to examine in detail the leading proposals so far put forward for the postwar economic world.

The agreements reached by the experts at Bretton Woods seem to typify the intended shape of things to come. The proposed International Monetary Fund has as one of its ostensible purposes the promotion of "exchange stability." Now the way to secure exchange stability, as worked out before the first World War, was clear. A nation kept its own currency sound. It made it convertible on demand into a definite and fixed quantity of gold. To make sure that the promise to pay that fixed quantity of gold would be kept, it saw to it that there was not an excessive expansion of bank credit. It saw to it also that the central government did not issue such a volume of debt that its ability to maintain interest on that debt and to retire it would come into question. A nation saw to it that the government's bonds were sold to the public, so that they were paid for out of real savings and not merely out of the creation of additional bank credit. If a government were to meet all these requirements it had to balance its budget, or at least make certain that its budget was not too long or too heavily out of balance.

When the public was confident, as a result of these conditions, that the promise of gold convertibility would be kept, a nation's currency in the foreign exchange market was stabilized (with comparatively minute fluctuations) in terms of this fixed gold value. The currencies of other countries were likewise fixed in terms of definite gold values. As each currency was held, by each country's own policy, to the value of a fixed quantity of gold, it followed that each gold currency was necessarily fixed in terms of every other. General exchange stability was preserved.

This was the international gold standard. It was a form of international cooperation worked out and perfected through the centuries. It reached its highest development in the latter part of the nineteenth century and in the present century before the first World War.

II

One will look in vain through the Articles of Agreement on the International Monetary Fund for any reference to balanced budgets, to limitations on internal credit expansion, or to any definite requirement for gold convertibility. How, then, does the Fund propose to maintain international currency stability? Instead of contemplating that each currency shall be separately anchored to gold, and that each nation shall be responsible for maintaining that link so far as its own currency is concerned, the Fund proposes that every currency be tied directly to every other. This is to be done by forcing the strong currencies automatically to support the weaker.

Suppose, to take a fictitious example, that the Ruritanian rurita has a par value of twenty cents in terms of American dollars. Suppose it has a sinking spell, or that everybody shows a sudden desire to get rid of ruritas and to acquire dollars instead. It becomes the duty of the Fund to supply these dollars, at least up to an amount stipulated in advance in the Articles of Agreement. The Fund must keep buying the

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ruritas at twenty cents. It must do this regardless of whether the rurita is sinking because the Ruritanians are buying more goods from the outside world than they have the exports or credit to pay for, or because Ruritania is having a revolution, or because it has a Fascist government that has just announced that it is expropriating the property of some minority group, or because it has a budget deficit brought about by a heavy armament program, or simply because it is grinding out too much paper money on its printing presses.

Now the real value of the rurita, left to the natural play of supply and demand, may be only two cents. Nevertheless, it must continue to be bought by the Fund at twenty cents. But if, as is most probable, it is being bought by dollars, this means that American taxpayers are buying two-cent ruritas for twenty cents, thereby immediately losing 90 per cent of their investment on each purchase, while they pay for Ruritania's luxury imports, her armament program or her Fascist experiment.

But does the International Monetary Fund, though it explicitly lists that objective among its purposes, even contemplate exchange stability? On the contrary, it clearly contemplates a great deal of exchange instability. It provides, first of all, that any nation may at any time devalue its currency 10 per cent. It is explicitly stipulated that "the Fund shall raise no objection." Any nation may propose a devaluation of its currency by another 10 per cent, and the Fund must either concur or object within seventy-two hours. The practical effect of this pressure for a quick answer will be to give the benefit of the doubt to the nation that wants to devaluate. If a nation wishes to devalue its currency even further, it must consult the Fund. But if the Fund refuses its request the member can simply withdraw, without advance notice, if it prefers further devaluation to whatever additional automatic credit it might still be entitled to in the Fund.

But the most ominous provision of the Fund, from an inflationary standpoint, is that which permits it by a majority of the total voting power to make "uniform proportionate changes in the par values of the currencies of all members." Each such change must be approved also by every member that has 10 per cent or more of the total of the quotas. It is true that an individual member of the Fund, if it decides within seventy-two hours, may be allowed to keep the par value of its currency unchanged; but as devaluation of all other currencies would be certain to cause a prompt drop of commodity prices within a non-devaluing nation, all nations would be virtually forced to participate in the devaluation.

Now this provision of the Fund is a provision for periodic world inflation. The historic instances in which the par value of the monetary unit has been increased are so rare as to be negligible. The practical political pressures are always in the other direction. So we are safe in assuming that the "uniform proportionate changes" referred to by the Fund mean uniform proportionate *devaluations*. Devaluation is the modern euphemism for debasement of the coinage. It always means repudiation. It means that the promise to pay a certain definite weight of gold has been broken, and that the devaluing government, for its bonds or currency notes, will pay a smaller weight of gold.

III

When a nation devalues by acting alone, all this is plain enough. Foreigners who hold bank deposits in that nation, or exchange bills drawn on that nation, or any obligation of that nation stated in terms of its own currency, know that they have been cheated. The value of their claims in terms of their own currency immediately drops by the percentage of the devaluation. They will be paid only 90 or 80 or 50 cents on the dollar. All this makes devaluation morally embarrassing to the devaluing nation.

There are other embarrassing effects. Devaluation seldom comes out of a clear sky. It follows an overexpansion of the government's debt or currency notes or an overexpansion of internal bank credit. Foreigners, reading these signs, begin to withdraw their deposits. The nation's own citizens, seeking to protect their own position, begin to transfer their deposits to other countries that look

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safer. This is called the flight of capital. The politicians in power, and economic writers who reflect their point of view, seek to put the blame, not on the government that has made its credit and intentions questionable, but on the creditors who question them. They call the money of these creditors hot money — though it is, of course, merely money that is trying to leave hot places. In spite of this modern vocabulary, nations are still embarrassed by this flight of capital and this public evidence of distrust. Moreover, it is a blow to national pride and prestige for a nation's currency to sell at a discount in the foreign exchange markets.

It is obvious that a *uniform* depreciation of *all* currencies would either remove or conceal most of these embarrassing results to a single government. Though the dollar, say, would go to a discount of 25 or 50 per cent, the man in the street would hardly suspect it at first because all the external measuring rods would have shrunk in exact proportion. A hundred dollars would still be worth the same number of pounds, francs, marks, lire, rubles, and so on, as before, and vice versa, because they would be different pounds, francs, and rubles as well as dollars. Relative foreign exchange rates would remain unchanged. There would be no flight of capital, because every place to which it could go would be equally disadvantageous. The provision in the Fund for world inflation, in brief, is a provision to make resort to inflation easy, smooth, and above all respectable.

But the real harm that inflation would do would be no less under world-wide inflation than under national inflation. Commodity prices would rise. Everybody's cost of living would go up. Those who lived on pensions, either private or part of government social security systems, would find them buying less than before. The holders of government securities would find the real value of their securities greatly cut. All those with fixed incomes would find themselves subjected to an invisible but real and ungraduated income tax (in addition to the government's acknowledged graduated income tax). All those with savings accounts and insurance policies would find them cut by an invisible but real and uniform capital levy. In short, private citizens, as before, would be cheated by their governments; but the government propaganda agencies would assure them that the latest inflation had merely ushered in a new paradise.

The proposed International Monetary Fund is bad from so many aspects that it is difficult to know in advance which danger will prove the most serious. By keeping up exchange rates by artificial means, buying currencies at par regardless of their real market value, and making devaluation easy and respectable, the way will be cleared for encouraging every government in power to follow the easy political path. It can continue to pay heavy subsidies to all sorts of pressure groups, to embark on public works and patronage on a grand scale, and to tax lightly, thus continuing chronic budget deficits and financing them by added debt.

But all this will not give us free exchange markets. The Fund Agreement does not say in so many words whether there will be a free foreign exchange market or not. But it provides for the continuance of controls during an indefinite "transition" period, and it encourages permanent controls over capital movements. To control international capital movements would in practice require supervision and policing of all exchange transactions. In practice, therefore, people could not buy or sell abroad, or travel, without going through a great maze of red tape to get permission from their government to do so. They would lose the power to dispose of their property as they wished, or to emigrate and take their money with them. Government power over the lives and actions of its citizens would be extended in yet further directions. Still more former freedoms would be abridged or circumscribed.

IV

Let us turn from the proposed International Monetary Fund to the proposed International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Here at least is an institution in which, with proper safeguards, the possibilities for good might outweigh the possibilities for harm. The Bank, apart from its unnecessarily large subscribed capital

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($9,100,000,000), is set up on a comparatively conservative basis. It is not to lend or guarantee loans for more than the full amount of its unimpaired subscribed capital, reserves and surplus. It is not to make loans on an automatic basis, like the Fund. It can exercise discretion. A project, for example, for which funds are being asked must be deemed meritorious by a committee selected by the Bank. The borrower must be "in position to meet its obligations."

Such a Bank, in the decade immediately following the war, could perform a useful service. In particular, it could make loans to stabilize their currency to those nations that show a genuine will and capacity to do so. Whether the proposed International Bank would provide a better medium for this purpose than the existing American Export-Import Bank is a question of practical judgment. The International Bank would have the advantage of symbolizing international cooperation. There would be psychological and political advantages in making individual nations responsible for payment of their debts to a Bank representing forty-five different nations rather than to a bank merely representing one. On the other hand, while the United States would supply the lion's share of the lendable funds of such a Bank, and probably assume an even greater share of the risks, and while most of the loans would doubtless be floated in this market, our government would have much less to say about the loans and the conditions attached to them than if it were making them alone. While it is true that the American representative on the Bank would be technically free to veto a proposed loan made in dollars in this market, it might be made very embarrassing for him to do this.

It is not necessary here to weigh the relative merits of the proposed International Bank and our existing Export-Import Bank as a medium for making international stabilization loans. But it is important to point out that there are only two sound reasons why governments, either individually or jointly, should engage at this time in the business of international lending at all. The first is the whole record of default and repudiation of foreign loans in the inter-war period. This was brought about to some extent by real embarrassment on the part of debtors, but even more by the prevailing anti-foreign and anti-capitalistic ideology which regards the foreign lender, not as a man who takes risks and supplies essential aid, but as an "exploiter" who "throttles" the native economy. This record of default and repudiation has led to at least a temporary reluctance of private investors to make further foreign loans. The second reason why government intervention is now needed is that the terrific disruption brought about by war will make it extremely difficult for some nations to stabilize their currencies without outside help.

But whatever governmental institutions are used to make such loans should be temporary in nature. They should confine themselves to currency stabilization loans only. Where help is needed for humanitarian reasons it should be granted freely and generously, as a pure gift. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration already exists for this purpose. Its scope may need to be expanded. But everything above this should be placed on a strictly business basis. It will never be placed on such a basis if it is managed by governments. Where loans are made by private groups, risking their own funds, they will be made, in the overwhelming main, where the risks seem smallest and the chance of profit greatest. Under these conditions world resources are likely to be utilized in the most efficient manner. But where loans are made by government officials who risk other people's funds and not their own, they are bound to be made primarily for political reasons and will often be wasteful from an economic point of view.

It is contemplated that the loans guaranteed by the proposed International Bank will be guaranteed first of all by some government. If the project for which the loan is made is located in Ruritania, for example, the Ruritanian government or central bank would have to guarantee the loan before the International Bank would do so. This would, of course, reduce the risk assumed by the International Bank. On the other hand, it would enable it to make loans only to proj-

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ects that had home government support. The home government, by this power to give or refuse guarantees, would exercise a great influence on the development and direction of home industry. It would be in a stronger position than otherwise to grant or withhold political favors. It is important to keep in mind that a government would be less likely to think of the broad economic effects of such loans than of their effects in increasing the potential armament program or the economic self-sufficiency of their country in time of war. These considerations, however, would not be the same as those that would lead to the most efficient utilization of world resources. Quite the contrary.

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I have dwelt at length upon the proposed International Fund and Bank because these are specific proposals that have already been presented in detail. Space unfortunately does not permit an adequate analysis of the proposals for international commodity controls in the postwar period. At the moment of writing only one of these — the Anglo-American oil agreement — has reached the stage of presentation to the public. But indications from many sides have already made it clear that what is being contemplated is a revival and extension on a far greater scale of the type of international commodity controls of the thirties. This seems likely to apply, if the planners have their way, to cotton, wheat, sugar, coffee, tin, beef, tea, rubber, wool, copper, nitrates, cocoa, and quinine. Controls for some of these existed before the war. Many of these peacetime controls have merely been allowed to remain dormant.

The chief controls have proved disastrous failures. Almost invariably they follow the same general pattern. Ostensibly the effort always is merely to "stabilize" the price of the commodity. But in every instance (except in one or two where a temporary control has been imposed by some single powerful governmental buyer) the interests of the producers have been put first. The result in every such instance is that the price is fixed above the level that market conditions justify. To compensate for this, a proportional restriction of output is usually placed on each producer subject to the control. This has several immediately bad effects. It means that total world production is cut. The world's consumers are able to enjoy less of that product than they would have enjoyed without restriction. The world is just that much poorer. Consumers are forced to pay higher prices than otherwise for that product. They have just that much less to spend on other products.

A uniform proportional restriction means, on the one hand, that the efficient low-cost producers are not permitted to turn out all of the output that they can at a low price. It means, on the other hand, that the inefficient high-cost producers are artificially kept in business. This increases the average cost of producing the product. It is being produced less efficiently than otherwise. The inefficient marginal producer thus artificially kept in that line of production continues to tie up land, labor, and capital that could much more profitably and efficiently be devoted to other uses.

If this artificial restriction of output does not take place unsold surpluses of the overpriced commodity continue to pile up until the market for that product finally collapses to a far greater extent than if the control program had never been put into effect. Or producers outside the restriction program, stimulated by the artificial rise in price, expand their own production enormously. This is what happened to the British rubber restriction and the American cotton restriction programs. In either case the collapse of prices finally goes to catastrophic lengths that would never have been reached without the restriction scheme. The plan that started out so bravely to "stabilize" prices and conditions brings incomparably greater *in*stability than the free forces of the market could possibly have brought.

Of course the international commodity controls after the war, we are told, are going to avoid all these errors. This time prices are going to be fixed that are "fair" not only for producers but for consumers. Producing and consuming nations are going to agree on just what these fair prices are, because no one will be unreasonable. Fixed prices will

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necessarily involve "just" allotments and allocations for production and consumption as among nations, but only cynics will anticipate any unseemly international disputes regarding these. Finally, by the greatest miracle of all, this postwar world of super-international controls and coercions is also going to be a world of "free" international trade!

Just what the planners mean by free trade in this connection I am not sure, but we can be sure of some of the things they do not mean. They do not mean the freedom of ordinary people to buy and sell, lend and borrow, at whatever prices or rates they like and wherever they find it most profitable to do so. They do not mean the freedom of the plain citizen to raise as much of a given crop as he wishes, to come and go at will, to settle where he pleases, to take his capital and other belongings with him. They mean, I suspect, the freedom of bureaucrats to settle these matters for him. And they tell him that if he docilely obeys the bureaucrats he will be rewarded by a rise in his living standards. But if the planners succeed in tying up the idea of international cooperation with the idea of increased State domination and control over economic life, the international controls of the future seem only too likely to follow the pattern of the past, in which case the plain man's living standards will decline with his liberties.

Nations Are Economic Partners

Max Lerner

The core problem of the coming economic world pattern is not whether we shall choose between free trade and a policy of restriction. It is rather how to build an economic framework for the nations of the world within which free trade will be related to the problems of a real world, and the efforts to achieve it will take on some perspective and a measure of possibility. It is to see free trade as a consequence rather than as a cause of some degree of economic order in the world. It is to think crucially how that economic order is to be achieved.

If we do not achieve it, and if we bungle this task, then the more formal arrangements for a world security organization will be but a glittering paper construct. Unless there are economic health and economic neighborliness of feeling among the nations of the world, there is very little chance of political health and the avoidance of another war.

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How clear is our present thinking on this score? It is much clearer on the administrative level than on the idea level. That is to say, the practical men and the administrative technicians who have met as international commissions, to discuss the problems of United Nations relief, the need and supply of foodstuffs, the International Monetary Fund and the world bank, and the international regulation of labor standards, have had a surer instinct about the possible and desirable than the commentators who have sat on the side lines and wrung their hands. The attack on the new international economic pattern has come mainly from two sources: from the isolationists and imperialists, who want either American autarchy or an American *imperium*, and who attack any international plans as Henry Wallace idealism and "globaloney"; and from the anti-planning liberal free-traders, who regard any deviation from international *laissez-faire*, to use Hayek's phrase, as "the road to serfdom." Thus on one score

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the emerging economic pattern is attacked as super-idealism and on another score as super-totalitarianism. One group regards it as too good to be true, the other as too true to be good.

On the power level, it may be expected that the attacks will for some years continue to come mainly from the isolationists, the nationalists, the imperialists, and the press which they so substantially control. On the idea level, however, the ammunition may be furnished chiefly by the free-market liberals. This would not be the first time in the history of ideas that the mantle of liberalism had been thrown over the naked shoulders of reaction. For decades the free-market school has argued against government controls on economic activity, for decades it has argued that depressions are inevitable and poverty an inherent part of human life. If the counsels of these thinkers had been followed, America would have been so demoralized economically when the world military crisis came that it could never have roused itself morally to confront it, nor could it have joined in a working coalition with a Soviet Russia which these thinkers assured us was indistinguishable in social structure from the Nazi enemy. Now these thinkers extend the scope of their indictment to include the international field. Their argument is that there can be no world peace unless there is world free trade; and there can be no free trade unless each country entering into trade leaves its business enterprise unrestricted and uncontrolled. Thus, whether the problem be national or international economics, the conclusion is always the same — that planning is totalitarianism, and every partial step of governmental interventionism that falls short of planning is but a step on the road to serfdom.

Actually, this is the old *laissez-faire* thinking, making its new appearance disguised as internationalism. In the name of a free-market internationalism it attacks measures like a world bank and a world monetary fund that are crucial if there are to be any international markets at all. The basic premises are these: that political power is dangerous in any form, but that there are no dangers in the private possession of economic power; that public governments are tyrannical, but that there is no tyranny in private governments; that officials who work for the people and help regulate economic life are a dangerous bureaucracy, but that there is neither bureaucracy nor danger in the same men when they work for corporate enterprise; that there is a Nature's Simple Plan, by which if you leave industry alone, it will function as an orderly economic system, and if you leave world trade alone it will serve as a basis for organizing world order and security; that there are dangers in planning, control, and organization, but no dangers in anarchy and disorganization.

These premises make even less sense when they are applied to the international economy than they once did when they were applied to the national economy. For while the consequence of national economic anarchy is depression, the consequence of international economic anarchy is likely to be war. Economic interventionism on an international plane, moreover, contains few considerations of class justice or injustice, but is mainly cooperation between peoples acting through their governments. Philosophically it is based on the principle of mutual aid and mutual responsibility. Moreover, it is likely to involve the kind of governmental action that facilitates and underwrites economic activity, rather than the kind that restrains or coerces it: in short, it is more likely to be Hamiltonian than Jacksonian.

Thus the free-market attacks on the emerging world economic pattern proceed in an unreal world. They are adventures in Cloud-Cuckooland. Their premises on the international economic level are exactly comparable to the theory on the international political level that all forms of world organization are tyrannical, and that if each nation cultivates its own garden of neutrality, world peace will follow.

Let us turn now from this Cloud-Cuckooland of theory to the grimy and real world of nations.

The first big fact about it is that it will be a war-ravaged world, whose physical industrial plant will be badly in need of rebuilding, and in which the very countries

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that have been most devastated by the war will be least able to rebuild themselves without outside aid.

The second big fact about it is that it will be a world of nations each of which has its own kind of economic and social system and its own network of governmental controls. There is now, and will be after the war, not a single nation of consequence that lives up to the criteria of freedom set by the von Mises-Hayek school of economic thinking. Each nation has been moving toward its own type of governmental control of economic life, which it has been seeking to make conformable to the spirit of its own political institutions and traditions. The dominant economic groups in America may quarrel with what the Russians have done, and with what the French are doing, and even with what the British may do. For Americans to insist that nations cannot work together in friendship, despite their social differences, to establish a working pattern of international economic partnership, is to subscribe to a form of national solipsism. For Americans to make it a condition, before they will have extensive trade relations with any country, that its foreign trade should not be under a governmental monopoly, is to seek to impose our own property patterns on the rest of the world.

The postwar world will be a very unequal one in terms of economic power. The United States will be in the unique position of being the only nation whose industrial plant has been left unravaged by the war, and which comes out of the war far more powerful economically than when it went in. In a second category will be our great Allies — the British, the Russians, the French, the Chinese — all with their industries to be rebuilt to varying extents. In a third category will be the small nations, dependent on the Great Powers for economic aid and support. In a fourth category will be the defeated powers, and in a fifth the colonial and still dependent areas.

It should be evident that there can be no economic basis for an enduring world peace unless ways are found of making world trade possible despite these precipitous inequalities. It is fantastic to assume that Yugoslavia or France, China or Greece, will be able to resume world trade unless some collective world action is taken to overcome the disadvantages of their poverty and desolation. Hence the world bank. Hence the international monetary agreement. In the long run ways will have to be found by these countries themselves for repaying the help that they receive, and for balancing their extensive imports by ultimate exports. But in immediate terms this will be impossible. And if these countries are to wait until the ideal situation exists under which the theory of comparative advantage can operate, and under which therefore they can take part in free trade arrangements, they will first pass through successive crises of civil war and revolution.

In short, it is idle to speak of free trade without speaking of the relative positions of the nations between which the free trade is to operate. Justice Holmes, in a judicial opinion in a wholly different context, once spoke (*Coppage* v. *Kansas*, 1915) of "the equality of position between the parties in which liberty of contract begins." His remark has application in the context of international economics as well. It is idle to speak of the freedom of trade of a ravaged country and a truncated economy, when their only real freedom is freedom to starve if they cannot pay for the things they import. Like liberty of contract, liberty of trade does not begin until through world action some approach to equality of bargaining power has been established.

If you approach the problem from this angle, the important question becomes not whether the world will have free trade, but what things need to be done before relative freedom of trade begins to have meaning and possibility. The smaller nations, and the big ravaged nations like Russia and France and China, will need machines and machine tools, food and seed grain, clothing and technological skills. That was why the Bretton Woods conference was so crucial, since it discussed and agreed upon methods for the creation of a world monetary fund which could be used to aid the disadvantaged nations, and a world bank to underwrite and channel the necessary financial transactions.

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These are even more crucial than the immediate steps that will have to be taken by the United Nations Relief and Reconstruction Administration, and more important also than the decisions reached by the world food conference. For the nations of Europe and the Far East will need more than mercy. They will need realistic techniques by which their temporary economic situation will not be exploited to their disadvantage, and techniques by which they will be able to set their economies once more in the direction of expansion.

What this means is an international economic pattern directed not toward restriction but toward production. The most important thing that can be said about world peace is that it will require economic expansion and higher living standards throughout the world. This is desirable if we are to avoid the economic trouble spots that are so related to the storm areas that lead to war. And it is desirable also because countries with high living standards are better customers, from the standpoint of the export markets of industrial powers like America. But it must also be remembered that high employment and production in the United States will be crucial to our postwar trade relations. If we have anything like full employment, our factories will need vast imports of raw materials, and some of our highly protectionist interests might even be moved to accept the lowering of tariffs.

I do not say that this will be easy, or that it will solve the world's economic problems. There will be vexing questions of the control of colonies, and of access to the raw materials and markets in the colonial areas. There will be questions of the distribution and control of commercial air power. There will be questions of the control of the vital oil fields, particularly in the Near East. All these are problems of military power as well as of economics. As such, it would be idle to think that they could be settled by cleaving to the free-trade doctrine. Neither, however, will they be settled by cleaving to the old techniques of power politics and spheres of influence. They can be resolved only by persistent efforts at general international agreement. But there will be no hope for these efforts if we do not meet and deal with the more tractable ones such as I have discussed above.

We shall have to adapt the classic notions about free trade to the real world that will exist after the war. It should be possible to have free trade between the Russians and the Americans even if the Russians carry on their end of it through state export trusts. This has not prevented trade in the past, and there is no reason why it should prevent it in the future. It should be possible to have free trade when one of the parties to the trade has had its purchasing power underwritten by an international monetary planning agency. It should even be possible to have free trade along with governmental underwriting of the American export side of the trade deals by an agency like the present Foreign Economic Administration.

It will be a long time before the vested American interests will relax all the protectionist barriers they have set up against foreign products. Meanwhile it is our duty to do everything possible to get them to relax at least some. We shall then be able to appeal to other nations to do the same, as Secretary Hull has tried to do with his series of tariff reduction agreements. But such an appeal will be only grimly humorous if America is unwilling to take the lead in planning a framework of international economic organization.

The only way to beat national autarchies is through international economic order. Nations will become good neighbors and good traders when they have recognized that they must also become economic partners, with a tremendous investment in economic peace.

Note: Only after finishing this article did I get a chance to read *The Sinews of Peace* by Herbert Feis, just published by Harper & Brothers. Feis has chapters on international monetary projects, on international investment and a world bank, on food and raw materials, and on international trade. He hammers down in detail, out of his experience as former economic adviser to the State Department, the main lines of what I have tried to say here more generally. His book is easily the best in the field.

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A Design for Fighting

Harlow Shapley

The Phi Beta Kappa Address given before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at Cleveland, Ohio, on September 13, 1944

Begging your tolerance, I should like to make a talk on wars. It may not be too tedious, for wars are never dull. I am planning to deal mostly with fights that are outside the history books. To get into our subject, we shall need to examine honestly our attitudes toward war. Subsequently, we shall identify some new enemies, make blueprints (very provisional ones) of new battlefields, take stock of our mobile fighting equipment, and then sketch the preliminary patterns in our Design for Fighting.

First I shall recount a sad folk tale. Once upon a time recently there was a great nation in a mess. When it struggled to disentangle itself from the condition that had been brought on by this and also by that, the situation seemed to grow messier, and no less than twenty-two millions of its adults voted to change horses in the middle of the bog, and to try getting out on the other bank. The nation's ills were everywhere obvious. A great many poor people were hungry, while other citizens destroyed their surpluses; more than ten million were unemployed; the desires of the laborers for greater pay and prestige were doing badly; the women without higher education were submerged by custom and lack of opportunity; the people had no thrifty desires to accumulate savings, and indeed, they had nothing much to save; the young men and women had little systematic training in health or in patriotism; they had little opportunity to travel.

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In this economically and spiritually confused country (so continues the tale), diseases like measles, pneumonia, and syphilis were badly controlled, if at all; mosquitoes and flies were destined to be eternal pests and carriers of disease; practically no one in all that nation could use radar, or anti-radar, or anti-anti-radar; social reforms were progressing with difficulty, and educational policy was static.

The airplanes were relatively slow and weak (we continue to list the nation's ills); the researches in the physical sciences throughout the country were listless; the art of ship-building and ship-sailing had practically disappeared; and worst of all, there was little zest for life and liberty, no driving principle or policy to make the citizens from all the corners of the country proud to be citizens of that nation and brothers under a sun that might illuminate a hopeful future.

It was a somber epoch in the history of that great nation, and the prospects for recovery and progress, and for the cure of the enumerated evils, were dim indeed.

If I had, at that time, ventured to offer a remedy for all these ills, every one of them, by advising the afflicted nation to take active part in the greatest and bloodiest human war ever conceived — a war that destroys more property and brutally butchers more innocent people than the worst human butchers have ever enjoyed in their most gorgeous dreams — if I had recommended that mad procedure, guaranteeing the almost complete cure of all such ills within ten years, and the practical attainment of all the high goals I have implied, it is quite likely that both my advice and I would have been (to

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understate it) deplored. It is possible that someone might have written a letter to the Harvard authorities about fanatics, and recommended my transfer to an institution even more suitable than a university.

Naturally, I did not make such a recommendation. Nevertheless, this nation did get into just such a war, and all of those happy desiderata and many more have come about.

Full Employment and Stomachs

Probably never in the history of this country have its people, as a whole, eaten so well as during the past three years. There's practically no unemployment. The soldiers and sailors are the best paid and fed in the world. The thrill, and even the joy of living, has much increased. The nation is healthier. (The death toll in the current war and the number maimed by the war are of the same order of magnitude as the automobile casualties before the war.) The people have rather willingly adopted healthy restraints, constructive collaboration, unified determination, a national spirit of worthy sacrifice. Sensational advances in the treatment of certain diseases, new knowledge of food, new accomplishment in a million new home gardens, new and widespread instruction in world geography — all of these have come also. Without the war, most of them would yet have been totally missing, and the others of slow maturing. The women in the offices, factories, and armed services have discovered abilities and self-assurance heretofore unrealized. Elementary applied sciences have been taught to about a million young men who would otherwise have been deprived of a practical training that is important in a civilization highly dependent on applied science. The political and social prestige of labor has increased remarkably in three years of war; and millions of citizens have billions in savings — establishing a policy heretofore unknown, unpracticed, or impossible.

With such manifold blessings to the majority of individuals and groups in America, and with such apparent social gain for the nation as a whole, who could sincerely regret this world war and who would take steps to prevent another one? Should we not praise those who precipitated it, or should we not? Is there a counteracting Design for Not Fighting — some substitute for Beneficent War?

The problem must be examined further, or some strange conclusions will be reached and astonishing national policies advocated. War was long ago recognized as a good tribal business by certain savage and primitive people, but they fought for food, women, loot, and the joy of personal combat. These are not our American motives. We have food; we have, if anything, too many women; our individual property averages to be the most and best in the world; and the lust for personal combat has been pretty well bred out of us (even if it has not, the modern war provides little opportunity for personal bloodletting, since it is about nine-tenths fought on the draftsmen's board, in the machine shop, and by the remotely located ground forces). Less than a tenth of our mobilized warriors in battlefields, factories, and farms ever smell the human enemy or grapple with him. The poetry and romance, the snorting rush of the foaming charger and the wild savage clash of sabers have been machined out of modern and future wars. Most of the thrills for most of us are vicarious. At the height of a hard pressing crisis, we may work at the lathes some fifty-four hours a week — with time-and-a-half for overtime, of course, and we only temporarily modify our squealing about renegotiation.

Our material gains in war are therefore not so elemental as those which made war a national business for earlier tribes. It is now not so much for food, loot, and glory that we fight, as (if we judge by our successes) for the great social gains: for widely-distributed prosperity, the education of the masses, large wealth for a new set of capitalists, the provision of work for everybody, and good pay for good work. Socially uplifting is this war, as well as materially profitable, for more than 100,000,000 Americans.

Up to this point, it sounds as though it would be folly not to adopt World War as the national policy. The amazing advantages and dividends must be balanced somehow, or even written off in some way; otherwise we are at a loss to understand another equally

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amazing situation, namely that practically everyone wants this beneficent war to end immediately, and fervently hopes, apparently, that there will never be another such war in the future history of the world.*

Why Not War as a National Business?

To enumerate briefly the chief objections to war, we note first that it is making nearly all of our regularly trained army and navy personnel important, and perhaps overweeningly arrogant. The same is true for hundreds of Washington bureaucrats. To these few thousand individuals, the war is a great immediate advantage, and probably therefore a disadvantage to the American political and social system. It may be pretty hard to demobilize the pride and spirit and habits of many of the war-enriched glory-inflated citizens.

The war is building a much greater American Legion — again, a two-sided sword, disadvantage and advantage.

The war has decreased the normal care of children, and probably their morale. The bull-market boom of the late '20's, of course, tended to do the same.

The usual type of college education has been interrupted for a few years for many boys. Presumably that should be listed as a disadvantage.

Although the war has improved the business of newspapers, of the radio, of manufacturers, of the transportation and communications industries, and of most small businessmen the country over, there were some enterprises temporarily ruined by the war (although the corresponding businessmen themselves have landed on their feet elsewhere). And the white collar classes have, as usual, suffered disproportionately, because the take has lagged behind the increased outgo.

Some would list "the economic waste of war" as a frightful price to pay for our full employment and full stomachs and purses.

Finally, taxes have become atrocious; but hardly any of us regret that others pay the government heavily, to meet a part of the costs of the war and to help in moderating the inflation natural to the existence of prosperity. In fact, we almost cheerfully pay our own taxes as a part of the healthful national discipline.

It is obvious that I am reaching around desperately to find sufficient disadvantages of war: it must be discredited somehow. It seems fairly clear that our antipathy to war is not based on worry about the postwar effects. Good times frequently follow successful wars. We are rather blindly hopeful that the government this time will meet the unusual emergencies without too much trouble; we trust that capital will not be too greedy, or labor too insistent, and that a bearable compromise between decreasing taxes and proper rehabilitation of our returning soldiers and factory workers will be worked out. Such is our somewhat vague hope. We are just that simple!

Immorality Discolors the Design

As I see it, there are two major comments on our aversion to adopting war as the best national or international business. One is very obvious, the other leads toward hope.

We in America are on the winning side of this war, and from the first we have known that we are winning; also the war is not on the home grounds. Those obvious factors explain much. Practically none of the war advantages cited above have been available to the French, Dutch, Norwegians, Czechs, and other conquered states. Only a few advantages (like full employment and perhaps unity of spirit) have been available to the now defeated Axis countries; and by no means all of our advantages have come to Great Britain and the Dominions. This time we have kept a winning war at a distance. It is relatively very profitable, and all the profits are not temporary. We have reasons to suspect, however, that a future war might eventuate otherwise.

* Undoubtedly there exist a few friends of war, scattered among the officers of the armed forces, the politicians and government officials, the magnified personalities of press and radio, and especially among profiteering businessmen — a considerable number altogether who secretly hope that this war will continue and that others will come. These people must be watched, but I choose to consider such individuals as low moral perverts, and not as a part of the American citizenry.

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It remains to make the hopeful comment that the basic reason why 130,000,000 Americans and untold hundreds of millions of others want an end of this war, and of all similar world struggles, is because war is immoral. The Moral Values in the situation more than balance the immediate material and social advantages, more than balance the prosperity, the glory and excitement — even for us, a winning nation. This is a fact of highest encouragement to all who are solicitous for the further evolution of the human race. It is inspiriting that we, who are temporarily gaining so many worth-while social and personal advantages, are nevertheless conscious of the cosmic error of it all.

We owe our present consciousness of the long-range tragic penalties of war to two widely different causes. One is the remarkably dramatic news coverage by press and radio, which has not concealed from the happy Americans the bitter blood and tears. The other is the religious and secular education of past centuries, which has gradually built an intellectual heritage and an universal ethics that link peace with social justice, international good will, and human progress. Through moral education, peace has become an inherent human desire; it is almost an instinctive good, for educated men, and war an instinctive evil.

Possibly there are other important factors that tend to cancel or minimize the social and material gains of successful war at a distance — mass anxiety and regret over economic waste, for instance. But we also had deep prewar anxieties. Personally I am content to accept the contention that the moral gain of abolishing war is the best reason for such a policy. The arguments based on economics and demography are too often specious and circular; usually they involve merely postponements and short-term compromises. The inherent moral antipathy, moreover, is a factor most clearly associated with the mental and spiritual development of mankind. I am gratified that we can rate it highly.

What's the Fight About?

At this point I should remark that the review of the profits and losses of human warfare are really relevant to the theses I am attempting to develop. A political and military background is necessary for the scientific and scholarly Designs for Fighting that are to be presented for your consideration. To fill in the background further, I should like to digress again and ask a rather embarrassing question: What is the present Design for Fighting? Just why are we in this war? The soldiers and sailors continue to ask this embarrassing question.

"Nonsense, it's all perfectly clear to everyone" — but not to the next expert you meet! The Germans and Russians, the French and Australians know why they must fight, but too many Americans are not sure. Perhaps we need not be, at this stage of the conflict. The individual combatant might say he is fighting (if you should ask him and he would honestly and seriously reply) because he has been drafted — drafted either by the Selective Service or by the equally potent public opinion (however camouflaged under words like duty, patriotism, etc.). A few, of course, are in the war because of their natural spirit of adventure. Fortunately not many soldiers set out solely in the hope that they can commit a legalized murder.

Here follows my list of specific reasons for human warfare, which may be much like yours, if you have thought about it:

1) Ambitious leadership
2) Economic necessities or ambitions
3) Public education awry (either through misplaced nationalism, religious shortsightedness, or otherwise)
4) Absence of effective international law
5) Desire to maintain a power balance in Europe and Asia
6) A combination of many of these reasons

There is nothing very complimentary to civilization in any of the listed causes of war.

It should be noted that the reason we fight is not because we were attacked. There was a trigger action on December 7, 1941, that set us off in a war to which we had been definitely committed for a couple of years. There's no need in fooling ourselves that self-defense is the sole reason we are fighting.

In some comprehensive but vague way — a way made vague by detailed rationalizations — we are fighting for a civilization. Let us leave it at that, and receding from contemplations of the present and immediate

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past, look towards some of the future wars: their necessity, advisability, the new alignments, the strategy and campaigns.

As the current strife draws to a conclusion that seems to be satisfactory for the continuance of a Western culture, we may profitably turn our thoughts first toward postwar peace plans. And when the world gets stabilized politically and economically, or even before then, we should begin planning for the next war. In the remainder of my talk I hope to make some progress toward inciting you to consider plans of new martial activities. It will then become clear why I have taken time to consider both the advantages of successful war and the moral and material costs thereof. We shall have standards of comparison.

Our Recent Inglorious Defeat and Humiliation

In 1918–19 more than four times as many Americans were killed by influenza as by our enemies of the first World War. Twenty million humans perished of that ruthless disease. The economic loss in the world-wide battle with the influenza organism was also tremendous. Moreover, sad and shameful to say, we lost that war. We, the highest and most resourceful animals on the face of the earth, came off battered and disgraced, with the enemy hardly scratched. Only when it became satiated with its successes did the savage foe recede into the invisible realms where it normally dwells, and from which it has at times made further minor forays with murderous and economically destructive results. Even yet, that adversary is not defeated; our Maginot lines of defense against it are permeable and insufficient.

Clearly we have right here a dangerous enemy for our next war. Why are we not all arming ourselves against this treacherous foe that does not hesitate to make sneak attacks, and has no respect for armistice? There were several millions of us engaged in those influenza battles of 1918–19; we are the casualties who recovered. I now wonder why in heaven we who returned from those battlefields did not form an American Flu Legion, don our old face masks and march in parades, brandish our voting strength, and influence Congressmen. With our political power, under the leadership of General Doctor, Captain Laboratory Technician, Lieutenant Nurse — all who fought valiantly with us millions of private sufferers in the great influenza war — with that power we might have got the government to fortify research laboratories munificently, drill the citizens in epidemic prevention and control, enforce the care of body and mind, and turn the powerful mass psychology into a fervent patriotic assault on the enemies of mankind that have always been more deadly than the soldiers of European fanatics and tyrants. So prepared, when the next attack comes along, we would be ready for it. We could sell Health Bonds, pay taxes luxuriously, work like the devil, and perhaps we would, this time, win the war, conquer our great enemy and keep him subjugated for as long as man remains civilized and sanitary.

But, alas, we did not organize. Medical investigators and public health officers continue to do their best, without much government or public support, while the undertakers year after year continue to tuck us away prematurely.

Selecting Enemies for Coming Wars

But the Design for Fighting I want to sketch for you tonight is not so simple and obvious as would be a defensive war against some major decimating epidemic. To fight defensively means admission of intellectual defeat. I want to go deeper. We should remember that it is only the bodies of men and women that the gravediggers inter and the cremators oxydize. Our influences, our contributions to knowledge and to the art and beauty of human living — our spirits, if you will — escape the mortuary. Our works live after us. Why not, therefore, seek out some of the enemies that assail those human qualities that we group loosely under the term civilization; let us look up the opponents to the evolution of those human characteristics that seem to differentiate men from other animals and plants. We may discover that an enthusiastic warfare against such opponents, even if only partially successful, is a fair substitute for warfare against fellow men. At least it would emphasize the absurdity of

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world wars or national wars where life and property are wildly squandered, while these greater enemies — the enemies of the soul, mind, sometimes body — are almost completely ignored.

Instinctive and acquired human morality, as we have already noted, seems to oppose the promotion of man-kill-man war; but I believe this same inherent morality must unquestionably be vigorously pro-war, war to the death, if we define our enemies as those that obstruct or challenge the social and intellectual growth of man and of human society.

In designing a fight, it is comforting to know that right is on our side. Such a claim has a familiar ring. It is the conscience-salve of provocateurs, everywhere and every time. Kings, kaisers, cardinals, cutthroats, and even we minor squabblers have always taken comfort in the benign assistance of God, the eternal righteousness of our cause, and the justice of our murderous actions. Very well, we shall leave over-used Omnipotence out of this. Rather we shall put in Nature, or Creative Evolution, or the Primal and Persisting Urge, of the species man, to evolve during the billions of years that the stars appear to have allotted him.

We could, of course, betray this innate evolutionary struggle, deliberately refuse to grow, and go turtling through the ages, dull and static; we could even regress, like a petered-out biological species, by way of recurrent world wars and social degradations. But it will be better cosmic sportsmanship to go to the top, to the limit of our abilities and aspirations; for, who knows, there may be something at that rainbow's end that will make even the galaxies look incidental.

Whatever the postulates in which we clothe ourselves, whether our tailors are religious prophets, pagan philosophers, modern scientific cosmogonists, or the still striving spirits of jungle-born curiosity, the majority of Americans are already amply dressed for the uphill climb. We can put on varied armor to suit the fight. This readiness of the citizen-soldiers is a challenge to those who venture to make plans. They must choose opponents worthy the steel and spirit of determined and intelligent men. No boastful pacification of a restless island will suffice, no capture of a distant market for the enriching of a few traders, no gloating superiority in armored flying battleships. Those are goals of an old-fashioned type, unworthy, unsuited to human dignity in this time of a New Renaissance. No, it has got to be good, this set of plans; and those whom we have trained to be the long-range social thinkers should heed well the ways and means, the details of joining battle with the real enemies. These new conflicts, moreover, must not be local wars, for a few scientific laboratories, or for one country or one county. The fight must be at least nationwide. Perhaps over the borders are potential allies, willing, well-armed, and similarly star-bent.

As a simple preliminary, I shall mention four national or international problems, the resolution of which seems to lead in the right direction. And one of them I shall commend especially to the attention of this scientific association as its most natural opponent. I shall also offer timidly the introduction to a preliminary sketch of a Design for Fighting this greatest of foes.

Illiteracy

Education, as you know, is well spoken of. Although it is perverted at times, and in places, into anti-social channels, it is by and large both good and necessary. It is indeed indispensable, if democracy is to prevail and the dignity of the individual man is to be respected and enhanced. Literacy is basic for it. Notwithstanding the rapid rise of auditory education by way of the radio, and of pictorial education by moving pictures and oncoming television, there is no reasonable escape from the general necessity of knowing how to read and write. Even a tabloid requires a modicum of literacy, and the comic strips carry printed materials.

The point I am driving at is that illiteracy can and should be wiped out. The basic equipment (reading and writing) for general and special education should be universally provided. It is not a job for the regular school teachers alone. It is a national job, for the public and the local governments. Ten years from now the existence of illiteracy between the ages of ten and sixty should be reckoned

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as a community disgrace. The shame should be on the community, and not on the unfortunate individuals. In many communities, perhaps most, volunteer teachers, performing a sympathetic rather than a patronizing task, could take care of this business without difficulty. In Mexico, the enlightened president, General Manuel Avila Camacho, has recently requested educated adults to undertake, as a part of their national service, the elementary education of at least one unschooled neighbor. Must we lag behind in social progress? Must we await a presidential order? A command from the conscience of the community should suffice. The people can do this work with pleasure and with justifiable pride. And once the first battle for universal literacy has been won in the community, city, county, or state, the level can be raised and a further step taken toward an enlightened citizenry. The second goal might be: "80 per cent of those older than fifteen years to have a completed grammar school education"; and there should be a ceremonious bestowal, to the successful community, of an "E" for Excellent, or Education, or Evolving.

Teachers' associations have no doubt worked locally on this important problem of illiteracy; but it should not be left wholly to educators. We are all involved. I wonder if sufficient thought has been given to rewards for community successes, to enlisting the interest of Service Groups, and to the expert selling of the enterprise to the general public.

There may be, of course, an irreducible minimum of illiteracy of perhaps 1 per cent, because of the existence of insurmountable physical disabilities, and the presence of illiterate transients. But the occurrence of foreign-language elements in a community should be no excuse for not undertaking or solving this problem; rather it should be a challenge, and an opportunity, by the way, for mutual education.

Premature Senility

As a second martial enterprise, let us organize ourselves and declare war on Premature Senility. The more we study the life span and the death causes of Americans and Europeans, the more we realize that a few maladies and a few bad habits cut off too many useful people prematurely. Most of us say that we would dread the prolongation of useless old age; but who can object to the adding of ten years to the active lives of men and women to whom the years have brought augmented wisdom, and in whom experience has produced nobility of character?

I look forward to the time, perhaps in a century or so, when an adult caught with a communicable disease will be heavily fined, and one indulging in afflictions like cancer, tuberculosis, arthritis, and neuroses will be branded as a social pariah, and put in jail. I would like to hope that the names of some of those diseases will become so little known that one would find them only at the bottom of the dictionary page — "cancer: obsolescent name for a rare disease, rampant in the dark ages, when, about 1940, it was killing 150,000 Americans annually." But my hope is perhaps too wild. Certainly there will need to be some hard fighting and heavy expense and further education before that Utopia dawns.

The Western world is not too crowded; there is useful work to be done, joys to be shared, fine thoughts to be meditated, sunsets for everybody. The proper balance for a diminishing but healthily-controlled birth-rate could be the prolongation of adult life. Already the medical and health sciences have done astonishing work on the diseases of infancy. The average age has risen spectacularly in America and elsewhere. But mature men and women will live and work happily half a generation longer when, as the result of a sincere and widespread war, we conquer or control arthritis, cancer, nephritis, diseases and disorders of the circulatory system, the respiratory system, and the brain. These six are the chief disablers. There is reason for the high hopes of continued advance against all of them.

The battles must be fought, to be sure, largely by the specialists, but in three ways the public can contribute notably; and without this public help, complete victory is impossible. We can inspire brilliant young scientists to enlist, preferably as volunteers, in this great war in the interest of human life and happiness. We can provide directly by gift, or indirectly through influencing gov-

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ernmental support, the necessary funds for the hospitals, research laboratories, and field studies. We can cooperate in controlling some of these scourges by care of personal health and by seeing to it that our communities are provided with appropriate health programs.

Let us comment quickly on each of the six:

1) In the United States five million people suffer from the various forms of arthritis, and hundreds of thousands are prematurely disabled thereby. Yet, with minor exceptions, there are no appreciable funds for the basic study of this disease, and no specific research army or institution. Arthritis rarely finishes off its own victims; it prepares them painfully for the kill by some more lethal assailant. The average mildness of the malady is probably the reason that it is commonly overlooked as one of man's great enemies.

2) Some further comments on the cancer war. The first eleven days of the recent critical and bloody invasion of Normandy took an average of three hundred American lives a day; cancer averaged to kill four hundred Americans on each of those days. And it does not stop; it offers no armistice. In the next twelve months there will be the customary 150,000 deaths in America from this one source, preceded in general by great suffering, sorrow, and expense. Why do we not do something about it? But we are! Yes, we spend *annually* in cancer research in all the universities and medical research institutions (not including the recently established National Cancer Institute) a little less than the receipts of one major football game! For the current "War of the Tyrants" we spend $300,000,000,000 of public money. For the war against cancer, the greater man-enslaving enemy, one-millionth as much!

Of course we need more research men and more ideas for the fight on cancer, but both will be forthcoming if ample funds are supplied for numerous *full-time* research positions in leading hospitals and medical schools. The cancer investigators must also explore the possibilities in neighboring fields, with no more worry about wasted efforts and money, in following faint trails, than we now worry about the expense of exploratory scientific researches for the present war. Four hundred American lives a day justify an expensive fight.

3) Hard arteries and the associated consequences stop in mid-career too many important workers in business, in the professions, in public service. A career of high nervous pressure is tough on the circulatory systems of those men who respond too generously to the call of duty and opportunity. As yet no real defense, but worried sermons from harassed wives and family doctors. More than half a million Americans die each year from diseases of the circulatory system; and if you are over ten years of age, more than half of you are to die of these maladies, unless something vigorous and drastic is done about it. How much do we spend in basic research on the ravages of this enemy? Practically nothing at all!

4) Tuberculosis is still a most deadly enemy to those important people between the ages of twenty-five and forty years, notwithstanding modern progress in care of the afflicted; and also unsolved as yet is that other respiratory affliction, the expensive common cold. We have already grimly saluted the goliath influenza, and in a sense we are sparring for time, hoping to load our slings with some new effective ammunition.

5) Nephritis buries nearly 100,000 Americans a year. We lose the lives, but save a little money, for again there are negligible funds earmarked for research on kidney diseases.

6) But perhaps our greatest enemy among the major maladies is the group of physiological and psychological factors that disorder and spoil the human mind. Some of the many forms of mental diseases are already yielding to the various therapies. Epilepsy is pretty well under control. The depressions are better understood than formerly and that new knowledge is a necessary preliminary to successful treatment. The plight of the schizophrenics is no longer a hopeless mystery. The alarmingly large number of neuropsychiatric cases coming out of the armed forces (approximately one-half of the total discharges for disability!) emphasizes dramatically the great importance of fighting this ruthless enemy, fighting hard for the sanity of the race, fighting, also, for the prolongation of mental power. With the mind senile, a virile body is rudderless; the centenarian's closing days should be bright, but not balmy!

Without further documentation, let us acknowledge the need for a concerted national attack on the recognizable causes of Premature Senility — the ailment that sooner or later will be of personal interest to practically all of us. Would you like to have a tenth of 1 per cent of your future federal income tax devoted to the elimination, or at least the great diminution of the ills that prematurely weaken and destroy? That's all the cash it would require. There is a highly sponsored National Science Fund with committees that could administer grants for medical research.

Would you participate in a national "one meal fast" to pay for research on the major maladies? If all took part, and contributed the equivalent, about 15 million dollars, we would win both happiness and years, because several deadly diseases would die.

Cultural Uniformity

Universal literacy is a goal the average citizen can help attain; longevity is a prob-

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lem chiefly for the specialists to handle. I would like to isolate another conflict in which everybody can take part. We can name it the Fight against Cultural Uniformity. It would take long to elaborate fully the need for this movement, and longer to specify sample procedures in detail. A brief summary must suffice for the present.

Life, I have found from experience, is the dullest thing one can live; and it would be vastly duller but for variety among the people one meets, diversity in their habits, manners, and intellectual reactions. To maintain and increase the diversity, to the end of enhancing the degree of satisfaction with life and the opportunity for intellectual and artistic growth, requires immediate fighting against real foes.

I assume you all realize that a world state is in prospect for the near future — geologically near — perhaps not in this decade or generation, but soon. By world state I mean the organization of practically all terrestrial men. The quality and degree of the internationalism of the coming world state should be examined. Aviation and radio, and similar modern arts, force the unification. A world-wide economic association, that encompasses all states that do business, seems so inevitable, ultimately, that one wonders why we go ahead trying half-way substitutes. And the unified political organization that will include all the present nations, supernations, and sub-nations, is also rapidly developing, notwithstanding some stubborn and perhaps bloody resistance, and in spite of the temporary dominance by political cartels of major powers. The world state, however, will come long before Pluto returns to Aries, two centuries from now. That is my prediction. Some would probably predict that the political unity will be obtained and stabilized before the end of the present century; and others may hold out for a thousand years of strife and political individualism. But we would all probably agree, if put to it, that either we sink to savagery, or rise, perhaps slowly, to a world unity, however drab this last prospect may appear.

But is a world-wide common culture an inevitability of the new order? I believe not. A political inter-nation and a universal economic agreement need not lead to a sterile uniformity in the cultural world. Local languages perish slowly; and many local customs can persist because they are linked with local geography. Hills, valleys, deserts, mountains, the seashores, and the various belts of latitude will remain, notwithstanding the ingenuity and deviltry of man. And the climates, soils, waters, and scenery in these various types of geographical localities can and will have a basic effect upon the folkways of whatever inhabitants choose to remain, or are permitted to remain, in such relatively specialized domains.

That localized cultures change slowly (whether of man, plant, or animal), and with some care might be made almost permanent, is demonstrated in nearly all the large countries of the world by the present social and domestic differences in contiguous groups. Only if the world maintains these cultural human varieties, these endemic cultures, will it provide natural opportunities for evolution. I mean evolution in taste and art, as well as growth in industry and natural science. For it is well known to the biologist that a uniform population changes but little.

We must, therefore, oppose, if I am right, those tendencies that are working toward standardization and cultural homogeneity. We must strive against chain-thinking and -acting. As one contribution to this objective, the small community must continue to live, to play, and to think by itself. It must be our fervent hope that the local American community will grow in cultural self-sufficiency, not only for the delight of the people in being doers rather than in being done-for, but also because of the importance of endemic cultures to general welfare.

We are quite willing to give over to international organization the responsibility of the larger political and economic management, if such delegation means peace, efficiency, and progress. But let us work toward a colorful new world through the development and maintenance of local customs.

And it is high time we got started on a program of deliberate cultivation of community life. For we must admit that much of our thinking and feeling has now been delegated to others through the predominance of chain

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newspapers, broadcasting syndicates, and movie theatres. It is alarming to realize how many of us hear the same news commentators, the same comedians and music analyzers; and to realize how many of us read the same comic strips, eat the same food, announce the same profound observations on passing events. Unconsciously we have delegated our thinking, our feeling, much of our tasting, and even the intonation of our trite comments, to a few score of men and women, mostly mediocre, who have gained access to our broadcasting studios, our newspapers, and our food-jobbers.

All of this standardization and mental goose-stepping has gone so far that escape seems impossible. Chain-thinking has linked our brains. The radio serves simultaneously ten million of us parrots. Originality of thought and expression have been sold down the river for the joy of hearing a hot gag.

Possibly we cannot retrace and start over; and most of us would not want to; we are mentally lazy, and too willing to follow leaders. But can we not counteract a little the deadening effect of this national centralized domination by emphasizing the activities and the contributions of localized natural communities?

Some of us have cheerful hopes about the more methodical encouragement of craftsmanship in country, town, and city. Already much is done, and it has been tremendously worth while. Art and science often blend in the craftsman. Local group work in the sciences is an entering wedge for community collaboration. In less than two years, the club membership in Science Clubs of America has increased 600 per cent, and now we have some five thousand active groups that are doing things, with a maximum of inspiration and a minimum of centralized direction. Much of the work of the Science Clubs, in the schools and among the adults, deals with the biology, topography, and archaeology of the community. Such interests foster pride in the community. Before long, many counties or valleys are going to be proud, for instance, that the herbarium of the home county valley is well known and has been related to the flora of larger regions and to the community's horticultural and agricultural problems.

The rise of small symphony orchestras and choruses, and the growth of amateur musical performances, are signs that we can develop genuine loyalties to the striving home folk, and really enjoy them, notwithstanding the superior excellence that could be ours by the turning of a dial. These musical movements, especially when they can be related to the folk songs and folklore of the community, are a challenge for all of us who recognize the importance of the independent life of the community, and the heightened likelihood of the evolution of taste and intelligence if homogeneity is opposed.

The responsibility for the fight against cultural uniformity devolves finally on the community itself. The local leaders should not leave to remote practical politicians, or to uniformity-producing centralized broadcasters and writers the shaping of the future, either for the individual or for natural social areas. In this connection it is well to study the goals and triumphs of our Tennessee Valley Authority, the progress of the community theater movement, the future of Frequency Modulation broadcasting as a new tool in community development, and the spirit and procedures in those few American communities that already stand out as individualistic.

In the contest against deadening centralized manipulation of the minds and mores of the people, we have a happy fight that all can join; and, paradoxically enough, nationally working artists and scientists can help to incite diversity and direct the development of local cultural projects; the radio and press syndicates can assist in spreading the gospel of community self-sufficiency.

The Tyranny of the Unknown

I come now to the fourth scheme for combat. The three proposed struggles for community individualism, for useful and happy longevity, and for universal literacy, are all of interest to the working scientist, and in these days of widespread social responsibilities these great problems should be at least irritating to the social conscience of everyone. But my next, and final, proposal is directly in the line of the professional interest of scientists and scholars.

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I may be obsessed, or suffering from anthropocentric illusions, but I cannot escape the feeling that the human mind and human curiosity are significant in this world — even perhaps in the cosmos of geological time and intergalactic space. With this impression (or illusion) that the mind is the best of us, and the best of biological evolution, I cannot escape (and neither can you!) the feeling of a responsibility to glorify the human mind, take it seriously, even dream about its ultimate flowering into something far beyond the primitive muscle-guider and sensation-recorder with which we started.

It is, possibly, naive to deduce that the acquiring of knowledge and sensations, and the judging and correlating of such knowledge and sensations, is a human necessity; and also rather elementary on my part to observe that in the short time that the race has had for reasoning about things, it has been impossible to learn much. But pointing out such elementals gives us background, and perhaps modesty. We are still embedded in abysmal ignorance of the world in which we live. Relative to the total surmisable extent of knowledge, we have advanced very little beyond the level of wisdom acquired by many animals of long racial experience. We are, to be sure, no longer afraid of strange squeaks in the dark, nor completely superstitious about the dead. On many occasions we are valiantly rational. Nevertheless, we now know "how much the unknown transcends the what we know." The unrevealed seriously oppresses us as men of mind. We are tyrannized by the unanswered, more than by governmental restraints or social taboos. This tyranny shadows the brightness of the explored realms of nature and of man. To use again the battle cry of the cornered, the war slogan of the ardent social fighter, "Let's do something about it!" Let's exorcise these tyrannical spirits of the surrounding darkness. Let's declare a methodical and elaborate war on the Tyranny of the Unknown.

Already, in our quiet way, most of us are mildly opposing this tyranny. We do it in our spare time, sometimes apologetically, and sometimes with rather brave and hopeful sanction by our institutional chiefs. But, of course, except when we have war-urgency assignments, we do not let the fight get in the way of comfortable living, routine duties, and our ordinary neighborliness.

Now please do not get the impression that I have with large words simply advocated the continuity of research. That is not at all what I have in mind. I said "a *methodical* and *elaborate* warfare on the Tyranny of the Unknown."

It is time we quit treating the acquisition of new knowledge as the luxury of a special class, or as the precursor to profit-making new gadgets or nostrums. It is time we quit leaving the explorations beyond the horizons to the long-haired professors and the workers in a few government bureaus. The contest against the Tyranny of the Unknown is a job for the people of America, if they are going to keep up in the competition with other countries. It is their job if they are planning to participate in either the practical or the idealized progress of mankind. It should be the concern of the businessman, the labor union, the fruit grower, and the farmer. This war can be an affair for the Popular Front, if the proper leaders properly blueprint the campaign. Practically every community in America that can produce an ensign or a sergeant could produce a boy or girl who could be trained to effective, even if modest, service in these new armies. Once the attack is briefed and the skills are sharpened, finding new facts and checking old interpretations are no more difficult than making an automobile from blueprints, or managing intership communications, or unravelling the mysteries of an income tax form. Yes, certainly the increase and spreading out of scientific and other research is a national concern, and, in making this a national issue, respect for fundamentals need not be sacrificed to the utilitarian. But how far we now appear to be from an aggressive governmental interest in this particular fight!

Some months ago (April 19), the British House of Commons debated "Sir Granville Gibson's motion calling for a bold and generous Government policy towards research. . . . The debate itself ranged over a wide ground, and no scientific worker could desire to have so many of his points made more effectively or trenchantly than was done in its

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course. The case for adequate remuneration of the scientific worker was pressed even more forcibly than in the House of Lords debate [the preceding July], and the arguments on this point . . . would have seemed incredible in a Parliamentary debate ten or twenty years ago. The credit for this change of outlook must be attributed in no small measure to the work of the Parliamentary and Scientific Committee, the reports of which have done much to prepare the ground for the debate." I am quoting from *Nature* for May 6, 1944. To me it seems that that particular session of Parliament was epochal, not only for science in Western civilization, but for the British Empire.

Can you imagine our own Congress sympathetically and understandingly considering research as a national issue of high importance? Almost inconceivable, you would say; and unfortunately there are many smug scientists entrenched in Washington who would say, "Thank God, Congress is keeping out of this." And I fancy that among you here are many who have been shaking your wise heads and saying, "Nonsense. This enlisting of the common people in a war against the unknown! They can't understand research, to say nothing of doing creditable creative work. They would only mess up the profession."

How transparent you are! Even if you won't think straight and thoroughly, you can, we grant, do some research; but by denying the ability of ordinary mortals, you are merely indecently strutting your own foolish personal vanity. (You understand, of course, that I do not mean you personally; I am referring to the man who sits beside you.)

But fortunately only a few of you feel that the increase of knowledge is for the elite alone. To the rest of you, I go on to say that we are not yet ready to open the systematic national or international campaign against Enemy Number One. There must be several preliminary preparations, all of which take labor, thought, and time:

1. The selling of the crusade to the average citizen, through skillful propaganda (or education, if you prefer that term). We must discover appeals to the imagination and the emotions. We need systematic research on the methods of creating understanding and sympathy for research. We must discover the way to make the fight against the Tyranny of the Unknown a national issue, like good government and individual freedom.

2. Local and national governments must be convinced of the merit of this cause, and of the importance of increasing official support for the mobilization of appropriate forces and resources.

3. The schools and colleges must recognize the importance of producing critical scholars and creative thinkers. They must see that one man fired with curiosity is worth much more than two solid and stolid citizens.

4. The Design for Fighting must be prepared. It must be outlined and published to the collaborating workers. It may require the leadership of a new institution — an Academy of Intellectual Exploration.

It is this fourth preliminary preparation of the fourth proposed national combat that I shall now commit to your further contemplation.

Among the citizens of America are several thousand who are the special agents of the people and of the civilization they compose. These agents or servants of society have been trained, mostly at the expense of the public, to know what is known and what is not.

It is to these several thousand servant-thinkers that I now put the question I set out to ask: Would it be advisable and possible to list *in extenso* for each of scores of special fields of knowledge the unsolved problems immediately before us?

The question requires elaboration. The proposed listing would be for technical specialists chiefly, and less directly, or only incidentally, for the non-specialist. Probably in all fields there are many able workers who for one reason or another do not have a grasp of neighboring areas, or even a full picture of their own subject. These workers may be young and as yet inexperienced, or they may be isolated scholars, away from discussion groups or large laboratories and libraries. Important fields often are thoroughly comprehended by only a few intense workers who have favorable temperaments and opportunities, and for such fields even highly compe-

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tent investigators in adjacent areas are unacquainted with the problems solved and unsolved.

Everybody gains if the obstacles to enriched research — namely, the unclear pictures — are removed. Would not such detailed clarification through problem-listing be worth doing, for the benefit of beginner and professional? What are the immediate unknowns, practical and theoretical, which might be subdued, if they were fully recognized and if there were an abundance of thinkers and resources available, in, for example, mammalian anatomy, in atomic structure, in the amelioration of insanity, in regional planning, in pre-Cambrian stratigraphy, in the history of printing devices, in the phylogeny of the anthropoids, in aeronautics, group tensions, meteorology, and the use of leisure?

An example might clarify my inquiry. Suppose I should take some weeks or months for the careful and thoughtful listing of the unsolved problems in the field of galaxies and related sidereal organizations. I could start my report with a "cushion" introduction to ease, perhaps, the shock of the subsequent technical presentation of scores of unanswered questions, pregnant puzzles, observational and mathematical desiderata. My picture might be amazing because of its succinct presentation of what is really known, and more amazing for what is not known but seems potentially knowable. My listing would perhaps provide a guide to the immediate researches of myself and my colleagues. It would give the inquisitive philosopher an indication of the situation in practical cosmogony, and an intimation of the hopes for the future increase of our knowledge on space and time. It would give to the physicist, if he were curious or needed the knowledge for his own work, an indication of the astronomer's contribution to the interpretation of space, time, entropy, and atomic aging. To the young astronomer and the isolated worker I hope I might provide incitation, and increase his personal efficiency. Such a listing of galactic unknowns should be out of date in a decade. It should sow the seeds of its own speedy obsolescence, if it were successfully done. But would it be worth doing, as a part of the great blueprint? Personally, I believe it might be highly useful, especially if it were reinforced by a general listing by half a dozen astronomical experts of the unknowns (which are perhaps knowable) in all astronomical and astrophysical fields. And I am still more confident of the usefulness of such designing, if it is also properly done in other subjects, scientific and otherwise. (For many years in the Harvard Observatory we have informally made similar surveys, to our considerable advantage; and spottedly they have been made elsewhere, as in geology — with what success, I should like to know.)

I visualize a great impetus to research through the methodical listing of the problems. Several biologists and physicists have told me that the project should be both feasible and highly profitable in their own fields. No doubt in economics, sociology, administration, philology, and the like, it would be possible to prepare essays on the detailed problems that should be attacked. The evaluation of the unknowns would perhaps become more personal and possibly less valuable, the farther one goes from the physical sciences. But surely, in almost any field of the humanities or social sciences, there would be gain from an attempt to tell the world which unknowns (that time and intense study might liquidate) now seem most to bedevil the advance of knowledge and constructive theory. The various surveys could not well be homogeneous in formulation or presentation; and they need not be, to attain the desired end.

In practice, there would be the aforementioned danger of narrow or personal views of the major and minor problems. And another handicap is the natural one that a scholar, forgetting his social responsibility, might hesitate to show his cards; he might want to reserve the brightest battles for a test of his own personal valor. He might be selfish. In the natural sciences a worker's connections with industrial research might stop him from presenting in detail some problems that have commercial value.

And among you, no doubt, are those who, having not watched closely the modern trends of investigation, may worry that a bold public listing of the unknowns, and of the possibly obtainable goals, would spoil the

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spontaneity of the true investigator, who gropes and finds and refinds; or you may worry that in some way a survey would tend to regiment the young. Perhaps we should not teach calculus to the young, but let them figure it out as Newton did! If there is anything whatever to this argument of "Better leave us all alone," I believe that the compensating gains would far outweigh the disadvantages. The lone wolf investigator, with a string and an old corkscrew, has pretty well disappeared, except from romantic journalism; and one surmises that in the humanities and perhaps in the social studies, a frank, full statement or two of the basic problems, made by competent scholars, might discourage a lot of second-rate rag-chewing.

The campaign to list systematically, and with bibliographic reference, the visible problems in a special field will require the judgment and ingenuity of a leader in that area. Of this I feel sure. The work cannot be done by popular science writers. The big question then arises — is the light worth the candle? Are the survey of the field, the guidance and acceleration of other investigators, worth the time and effort of the expert? You will need to help find the answer. You will need to ask yourselves whether we in America are still young-minded enough, and socially minded enough, to work in this way for a common national and human good. Or should we leave dreams such as this to those national groups where there is no hesitation in making five-year plans, social, economic, scientific, and where the plans are carried out and progress made premeditatively toward the transformation of a national culture?

Whether or not the American Association for the Advancement of Science, or the National Research Council, or any other organization of scientists or scholars in America, thinks well of an organized, expedited, and national program of research, I do want you to think well and hard of the necessity that has come to American scientists and other scholars of taking an active part in searching for intelligent substitutes for war. America and Americans will never retreat to the prewar sociology and economics; need we retreat to the prewar indifference of the academic specialist to the national social problems? To me that seems impossible, especially for scientists. There is not an officer or private among the ten million in our armies and navies who does not know that we are winning this war, not alone through personal valor, but very largely because of our superior engineering and scientific activities. We would be devoid of vision if we did not take advantage of these new contacts with practical science and new respect for it.

We would be shortsighted if we did not proceed now to build up a national understanding so that, with the tools of science and cultural education, we can undertake holy wars here at home against our non-human enemies, which have long held us down physically and frustrated our social evolution.

In the Spring Issue . . .

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR will publish an appendix to the new edition of Albert Einstein's *The Meaning of Relativity*, to be brought out by the Princeton University Press this spring. This appendix, entitled "On the Cosmologic Problem," is the only entirely new section in the edition.

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR will present a new permanent feature. The Editors are proud to announce that Irwin Edman has consented to write for every issue an amphibious, free-wheeling column, entitled "Under Whatever Sky." We believe predictions about its nature to be utterly futile.

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR FORUM will present a symposium on the most crucial problems facing our multi-group society after the war. R. M. MacIver, I. L. Kandel, and others will contribute.

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Conversations with the Old Man*

Paul Wolfe

WE CALLED him the Old Man.

I don't know why we called him that. It was not because he was old in years. He was never that. He was only seventy-three when he died, and in appearance, in mind and thought, he never suggested length of days.

Perhaps it was because he called himself an Old Man. He said that he had lived beyond his generation, that more and more he was puzzled by what went on in the world.

So many things puzzled him. He used to say he was puzzled by education and educators. He had lived long enough to see that no one knew what an education was; that his generation of teachers had lost its grip. All his life he had been in universities, among men who discussed and debated and passed resolutions and adopted programs about education. Yet none of them knew what it was to be educated. Charles W. Eliot had both saved and ruined American education. Up to Eliot's day there had been some agreement as to what constituted an educated man. Now there was no agreement: no one knew.

But, however he felt about himself and his generation, I know that for us the title Old Man was a title of affection and admiration. I think we called him old because we thought of him as timeless. He had the wisdom, the awareness, the judgments that were eternal.

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He spent the last five years of his life in bed. The doctors had told him he had a fibrillating heart. Its muscles, like an old and frayed piece of elastic, were worn out; they no longer developed the power to force the blood through his large frame. The doctors had said he would have to rest that heart as much as possible, and the only way to do it was to stay in bed.

So he went to bed. He took his bed table with him — a four-cornered thing with short legs which he could set up on the bedspread. On it he kept a bowl in which were his pipes, his tobacco, his matches, and his pencils. Beside the bowl was the yellow paper on which he wrote his informal letters. (If we received one of these yellow documents, we knew the Old Man's communication was not casual, but the product of reflection.)

He never complained about the restrictions. He took them with his customary good humor, puffing away at his pipe, laughing, shaking his box of matches, and remarking that it was one of the triumphs of civilization that it now required the work of three people to keep a helpless old man alive and comfortable.

When we talked with him, however, we didn't think of the body, helpless as it was, as much as we thought of the mind. In him we saw Mind at work. He was not interested in reproducing his views, in making disciples. He was interested in liberating the intellect. He used to quote Garman — the professor of philosophy at Amherst. Garman, he said, did not give us a philosophy. He taught us to trust the mind. He taught us that the mind never thinks falsely. Falsehood creeps in only when the mind stops thinking.

So the Old Man wanted us to think, to ask ourselves what it was we had read (did we understand it?); to state what it was we had said (what did we mean by it?). So we turned to him again and again, bringing to him our questions, looking to him for clarification, finding him sympathetic and understanding, but finding, best of all, the wisdom that is neither modern nor ancient but timeless.

Two of the last summers of his life he spent with us. The house had a single floor. He could live in one of the far bedrooms and at night come out into the living-room to sit by the fireplace,

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or to the terrace, from which he could look out into the campfire or gaze up at the stars. Some of his conversations I kept in my notebook.

It was a day or two after his arrival the second summer that we got off on the subject of education. There had been some lectures at Harvard by Thorndike on the place and use of controversy in education. Thorndike had said that while controversy might be used, it should be kept in mind that "free discussion is impossible among the ignorant, who are satisfied with the knowledge they possess, or among the dogmatic, who are unrelenting in their assertions. Would it not be silly for young learners to argue about the tariff or about the government ownership of railroads in ignorance of the general facts about economic products and services? . . . When disputed and unsettled questions are used should we not see first of all that every such controversy is made the occasion to learn or renew or apply fundamental facts and principles?"

The Old Man liked that. He liked those words — "fundamental facts and principles." He thought they were more and more neglected in education and he was disturbed by the passion for teaching controversial subjects. Such teaching, he said, does not promote disinterested thinking. It tends to create political and economic dogmatism. It makes converts rather than thinkers.

I can see him as he said it — stopping to light his pipe and throwing away the match and then looking at us to be sure his words had sunk in. We asked him if he was not a little too hard on the controversialists. If the educational process was to take place, must we not stimulate people, get them excited?

"Excitement," he replied, "is not the same as thinking. And as for the controversialists? Well, I have seen them and watched them. The plea for controversial subjects generally comes from teachers who wish to indoctrinate students with their particular bias. The social subjects which they claim as their field hardly can be taught without bias. Those subjects are not yet a science. A body of fundamental facts and principles is available in very few, if any, of them."

"Perhaps," he continued, "that is what is wrong with educa-

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tion. These teachers are teaching their prejudices. They believe in progress. They intend to make the world better and they assume that it will be better if all men are converted to their way of thinking. So they substitute evangelism for instruction. Here in America we have been trying to teach men to be good instead of teaching them to be intelligent."

And here the Old Man launched out on one of his favorite stories — that of Meno's slave. Socrates had been discussing the young men of Athens and how they could be educated. Socrates did not know the answers, but he called Meno's slave to him and drew lines on the ground and demonstrated to the slave that if the diagonal of a square is used as the sides of a new square, the new square is twice as large as the first square. The slave could see and understand that. And Socrates remarked that while it was possible to teach even a slave geometry, no one had yet discovered how to teach the sons of Pericles virtue.

The Old Man chuckled over the story. He had told it often, and in the telling, a new light always came into his eyes. Something was wrong with an educational system that spent so much time in teaching the unteachable. The word mathematics comes from the Greek word meaning learnable. It was important that education teach what is "learnable."

We did not intend to let the Old Man have the victory so easily. So we came back at him on the matter of "fundamental facts and principles." Wasn't that phrase a little too old-fashioned, a little dated, Victorian perhaps? Did it have any meaning for the modern mind? Were there any "fundamental facts and principles"?

He took up the gage gladly. "Oh, I know," he said, "what is wrong with you. You have all been brought up on the idea that there is no 'absolute.' Well, granted that there is no 'absolute,' let us ask ourselves the question: What is this 'absolute' which we say is not?"

"In mathematics," he said, "you can make your system of numerals what you will. We count one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten. But there is no imperative to use that system. Men could have counted one, two, three, four, ten,

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eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, twenty. It was possible for the human race to have any system of counting it pleased. What you must remember, however, is that whatever system you use always will be governed by the initial principles of the system. In the new method of counting which I have suggested, three plus three will equal eleven, but in that system the result of adding three and three will be absolute and undeviating. A system of counting where seven and five equal twelve is also a system that makes it inevitable that seven times five equals thirty-five. That is absolute. Without an absolute no system can function.

"Insofar then as you have a system of politics, of government, of mathematics, even of education, you will always have 'fundamental facts and principles.' A generation that neglects these principles, that discards them, will soon discover that it has no system at all."

The Old Man was proud of himself. He'd made his point, and we let him go to bed.

II

That was the summer of the anniversary of the American Constitution. One night we were reading aloud a book that had just been published about it.

It was a rainy night, and we were forced to remain indoors. The fire in the big fireplace was going, and the Old Man was stretched out as comfortably as we could make him in a big chair before it. His pipe and tobacco and matches were close at hand, and he was ready to enjoy himself.

I had not read far in the book before he began to scowl and then to groan. Finally he stopped me: "This fellow makes me tired. Why does he spend so much time informing us that we did not do what England had done? Of course we didn't. The Constitution was written in America, not by Englishmen but by Americans. They and their colonies were 150 years removed from England. They had begun to develop a life of their own. That's

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the significant fact in our history. We were Englishmen, or had been, but America made us something different. If we had had another kind of Constitution, we would have had another kind of Constitution."

He paused, and I went on with the reading. The book was discussing the various plans that had been proposed to the Constitutional Assembly and how they were not adopted. But again, the Old Man showed his irritation, and again he stopped me. "The Virginia plan was not adopted! Of course it wasn't. What those historians seem to forget is that what was not done was not done for a very good reason. The chances were if it had been done, there would have been no union. Don't forget that these colonists had deep local loyalties. You can call them an individualistic people, an independent people, if you want to put it that way. They resented even local customs which restricted their freedom of action."

The Old Man warmed to his subject. He had been born in Canada and he was proud of his ancestry. On his last visit to England he took pains to go to Reading to see the shop where his forebears had carried on a trade. To him the British were a great people. He used to say they had political sense, and for him that meant administrative sense. He had not become an American citizen until after his maturity, but his British background did not blind him to the genius of the men who wrote the Constitution or to the significance of the American Revolution. He wanted the facts about those great events known and understood.

The facts seemed to him to be that the Constitution was drawn up by men who were essentially politically and administratively minded. They were practical men, working politicians. They were not like the philosopher politicians of the French Revolution. They did not begin with a dream of social welfare or political perfection. They began where they were. They knew people, and their ideas of government stemmed from their practical experience in dealing with people. He could not but believe that the Constitution as finally drafted was something no one had wanted at the outset. It represented an adjustment of desire to facts. That, he said, was its greatness. It came from the minds of men

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who, like Aristotle, kept close to nature and things. It was a working document, and in the hands of the men who framed it, it became an effective instrument for making a nation out of thirteen disunited and far-separated colonies.

The Old Man turned from his argument to illustration. The Constitution combined a federal authority with local responsibility. When de Tocqueville visited this country in the nineteenth century, he had sensed this fact. Here was a people that was free. They had a government that did not depend upon central administration. It depended upon local administration. Power had been kept in the hands of the people. The result was a society always alert, a society truly democratic, liberty-loving, with an opportunity in it for the average man.

This was a new thing in the world and greatly in contrast with what had been done in France. The Frenchmen had used the words *liberty*, *equality*, but actually everything was controlled by Paris. Even passports to travel from one province to another were issued in Paris. As a consequence, local interest and local ability were at a low ebb. It had been almost impossible to make France a democracy. It was still a question whether she could remain one.

By this time there was no use in reading further. We were all filled with ideas and questions. His praise of the Constitution had startled us. Was it not true that the Constitution was drawn up by men with property who wanted to protect their own pocketbooks?

The Old Man's face took on one of those pained looks as he stared at the questioner. It was not a look of contempt but rather of pity — pity that we who prided ourselves on our thinking were so easily taken in by contemporary historical fads. So he stared, stared right through us as though he were searching for some tiny bit of mind that might yet remain in us. After a while he answered quietly.

"Of course the Constitution was written by men with property. What of it? What does it prove? The New Deal was written by propertied men. There is hardly a poor man among them. Mr. Roosevelt is decidedly a man of property. He is the product

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of inherited and accumulated wealth. Does that fact give us any true basis of judgment on the New Deal? Not at all. The goodness or badness of the New Deal does not depend upon whether Mr. Roosevelt is a feudal landlord or an absentee farmer. The way to judge the New Deal is to discover not only the principles of government which it professes but the principles of government which it actually observes. Are they principles that will maintain freedom, that will make for a strong, vigorous, liberty-loving nation?"

He paused for a moment to see if any of us would take issue with that statement. None of us did, so he continued. "The character of the New Deal does not depend on the economic circumstances of the men who framed it. Neither does the American Constitution. Political instruments are to be judged by their principles and not by the economic status of their authors.

"As for the fact that the men who framed the Constitution were men of property, of course they were. The great bulk of this nation has always consisted of propertied men, some with more and some with less. It's one secret of our political success. We have understood that freedom and property go together. We know that the right to property is one of the human rights which a free government must defend. What freedom must fear is a people without property, people who have no interest in the economic system and who, therefore, have no responsibility for its efficient working."

Someone interrupted the Old Man. Democracy! What did he mean — democracy? Were we in America a democracy?

The Old Man hesitated a moment and then came back with his own question. "Well, what do *you* mean by democracy? Let us have some definitions of the word. It is used a great deal by all kinds of people. They seem to have varied meanings for it. What do you mean?"

The questioner replied that he meant the rule of the majority. "Oh," said the Old Man, "then by democracy you mean Nazi Germany. Hitler received, I think, 99 per cent of all the votes of the German people. That makes him the greatest democratic leader in the world."

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But the questioner demurred. Hitler's election was not a free election. The majority in Germany was not a freely expressed will of the people. It had been coerced.

But the Old Man was not impressed. "Coercion? How do you know they were coerced? And how can you be sure that those who cast a vote in America are not coerced? Indeed, when I read some of our psychologists and sociologists, I seem to discover that there is no such thing as a free vote. All voters are the products of their economic and social environments. Even in America, according to some of your teachers, it is impossible for men to make a free choice."

The Old Man went on to make clear the dilemma of many of the moderns who talk about Democracy and Freedom. They use these words, but they really don't believe in them. They are fettered by a doctrine of human personality that makes freedom of choice impossible. Believing that freedom of choice is impossible, they turn their attention from liberty to social welfare. According to their way of thinking, it is not freedom that is essential to social welfare, but knowledge. Knowledge is the possession of the few rather than the many. The goal of the democratic process is to place these few in power, and let them manage their less fortunate brethren. This is where collective democracy inevitably leads us. We end up in the camp either of the Fascists or the Communists; and in either camp we find ourselves deprived of liberty.

We thought the Old Man had been a little severe, but he assured us that we were wrong; that there was very little vigorous thinking on the subject of Democracy; there was little appreciation of the distinction between freedom under a representative democracy with a constitutional government, and totalitarianism under a pure democracy with rule by the majority.

The men who created our American government seldom used the word "democracy." Jefferson called himself a republican. Madison and Franklin hardly mentioned the word. These men were interested in freedom. They had studied carefully and well the previous experiments in freedom. Madison, in particular, was well versed in them. He knew how often the majority had

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been the chief enemy of human liberty. So they made the basis of liberty the rights of the common man: rights which no government and no majority could take away from him. They created a government in which the rights of men (and not the will of the majority) were final. The acts of the legislature, the acts of the government were subject to judicial review to make certain those acts had not violated the fundamental principles of liberty. The majority were never to be permitted, except in an emergency, and then under a limited grant of power, to disregard the rights of free men. What our kind of democracy means is that there are circumstances in which a majority does not rule.

And then the Old Man concluded, "Freedom is alive today only in those countries where the rule of the majority has been limited and the rights of free men guaranteed."

It was late and our discussion should have ended, but the Old Man was wide awake and we had a question. He had emphasized this principle of judicial review. That meant he trusted the courts. He seemed to believe that courts could be the protectors of the rights of men. Wasn't that a little Utopian? Courts are made up of judges, and judges are men and subject to the prejudices and biases of men. Their decisions are bound to reflect their prejudices. How can you entrust the infallible rights of free men to fallible courts?

The Old Man said he welcomed the question, but we ought to consider what was the alternative to courts. If you do not entrust freedom to judges, to whom can you entrust it? Were the rights of men better protected by Der Führer with his love of power and his long and permanent grasp of power? Or were they better protected by majorities, with their fickle whims and changing fancies? He wondered if any of us had ever seen a mob lynch a man. None of us had. The Old Man said the rule of a majority can be brutal. He did not maintain that judges were perfect. He did maintain that they represented the best possible administrative defense of man's liberty.

And as for the fact that judges are men and men are biased and prejudiced, well, that made him smile. In his youth he had heard men talk of the fetters of theology and the tyranny of

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traditions. Now that he was old he was impressed with the tyrannical character of modern cynicism and the fetters of contemporary skepticism.

We asked him to explain that. He said it was simple. "You believe judges can never rise above their prejudices. Therefore, you cannot trust them. It is all of a piece with your notion that voters can never escape from their economic and social environment. These are expressions of contemporary unbelief. What you are actually saying is that wickedness can never be other than wickedness. With all your talk of progress you do not believe in progress, for you do not believe in the changed heart and changed mind which alone are creative and which make progress possible. You believe all things are irrevocably joined by cause and effect, the universe is a machine that cannot be altered, and poor human beings are dumb cogs in the machine."

We weren't sure what he was driving at, but we waited, and then he went on: "You have been brought up to believe in a mechanical universe on the one hand and to pay lip service to democracy and freedom on the other. Do you not see that the two things are contradictory? There is no freedom in a mechanical world. The only kind of world in which democracy has any meaning is a world in which men are not cogs in a machine but reasonable souls, minds, and wills, and, therefore, able to separate themselves from their circumstances, to rise above their prejudices and their passions, to act justly, mercifully, fairly. The faith that inspired democracy was the faith that believed this reasonable soul of man could be saved and redeemed. Man's sin could be forgiven, his wickedness could be transformed; biased men could become judicious, and unjust men could become just."

We were still a little mystified, and we asked him what that had to do with courts and justice.

He replied, "Everything. Our ancestors could have a democracy because they could entrust men with responsibility; they were willing to give some men authority to maintain freedom. They accepted, as we must accept, the fact that judges are human, that their decisions are often tinged and their courts often

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permeated by political ideas. But they believed it was possible in a moral world for both men and courts to rise above prejudice and bias. They believed that the way to secure this was to assure the judges of the majesty of the law, of their own independence, of their own dignity. So our ancestors strove to create an atmosphere of disinterestedness and fair-mindedness, and they had faith that men would rise to their opportunity."

There was a pause and silence. Finally someone spoke. "Isn't the pious hope that men will be decent a weak foundation for democracy?"

The Old Man made as if he had not heard the question, as though the discussion were ended. He knocked the ashes out of his pipe, got himself out of his chair, and started for his room. Halfway there he turned and faced us. "What other foundation is there? Democracy rests on the miracle of the human soul."

When he had gone to bed I found these words at the close of the chapter on education in *The Son of Apollo*. "Men will look for miracles, no doubt, but when they have ceased to expect them from nature or education or government, they may look for them where they are possible — in their own souls. No miracle seems ever to happen there until the search for it elsewhere is abandoned."

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Population in a World at War

Louis I. Dublin

THE World War in which we have been engaged has been an eloquent reminder of the urgency of the population problem. The war has been, in fact, a conflict of populations. Not only the autocracies but the democracies as well have strained to the utmost to mobilize their total manpower. In this struggle for survival, numbers have counted — numbers not only on the battle line but on the home front as well. The final victory which is now in sight will rest with those who will have mobilized the most men and the most resources.

Numbers are a factor not only in victory; they can themselves be among the causes of war. At any rate, population pressure was made the pretext for demands for expansion by the aggressor nations even while they were taking energetic steps to increase that population by promoting larger families. They claimed the need of more living space and were, moreover, confident of their power to get it. In their judgment, France, England, and the United States had lost the spirit as well as the power to survive as dominant forces in world affairs. The decline of the population of France, in particular, encouraged this attitude. And so when the moment seemed opportune, Germany, Italy, and Japan sought to snatch the leadership which they thought had fallen from the hands of their democratic and, as they believed, decadent rivals.

Events have since shown that the Axis leaders were wholly in error in assuming that the democracies were ready to lie down and let world leadership slip from their hands. While our leaders talked less about it, they were fully aware of our stake in the fu-

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ture of civilization. Even before the war, there was serious concern in the democracies regarding the maintenance of their numerical strength. The desire to keep their numbers at least at the existing levels was gradually taking form as a part of national policy in the prewar years. In a world threatened by aggressors, it was obviously necessary for peace-loving nations to be able to pit strength against strength and to be everlastingly on guard lest they lose their sovereignty as well as their liberty.

A new and profound interest thus attaches to recent studies of population and to forecasts of future population trends for the leading nations of the world. England is so concerned over her future destiny that even in the midst of war she has appointed a commission of distinguished scholars and statesmen to study the problem and to recommend suitable measures for the preservation of her numerical strength. Many other nations, the most recent being Russia, have likewise taken thought of their population problem. A clear understanding of the relations revealed by such studies and such plans must be the basis of any sound program to safeguard a lasting world peace. Upon the successful solution of the problems involved will depend the fate of nations and the kind of world in which our children will live.

II

Two diverse patterns of population challenge attention in the world today. They represent two distinct ways of life. They reflect not only stages in civilization but basic differences in political and social economy and in religious influences. On the one hand, there are the immense and growing aggregations of population in the Orient. Together, India, China, Japan, and the East Indies include about half of the total human family. Broadly speaking, these peoples are on an agrarian economy with low standards of living and with correspondingly low standards of production and consumption in world economy. At the other extreme are the countries of western Europe which, again broadly speaking, are highly urbanized and industrialized, with much higher standards of living. Their populations have shown diminishing rates of increase and, in the case of France, an actual

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decline in numbers in recent decades. In a world whose peoples are brought closer and closer together by modern communication and transportation, it is inevitable that two such diverse patterns should result in international fears, maladjustments and conflicts which threaten world peace and prosperity.

A typical example of the first pattern is exhibited by India. In this sub-continent is found close to one-fifth of the total population of the world. In the last decade alone, its population increased by no less than 50 millions, or more than the total population of the British Isles. Conditions in most of the country are still primitive. Large families are highly esteemed and childlessness is held a reproach. Birth control is virtually non-existent. The birth rate is approximately 35 per 1,000, or about twice the prewar rate in the United States and in most European countries. The death rate in India is still high as measured by our standards, although it has gradually come under some measure of control. In the long period of peace under British rule, the country has clearly profited from modern sanitary science. Plague, smallpox and other devastating diseases, as well as the ravages of famine, have been much reduced. The average length of life of the people today, though still pitifully low, has increased four or five years since the beginning of the century. No wonder, then, that in the last eighty years, the population of India has almost doubled.

It is a tragic circumstance that the introduction of western methods of sanitation and the improvement of food supplies have actually intensified the population problem in India. Here today are exemplified the evil effects of overpopulation in their most striking form. Industrial development, despite its acceleration in the past two decades, has not kept pace with the increase in numbers. Misery is the common lot. The people, for the most part, still live and work as in the days before the Industrial Revolution. An ancient agricultural system produces successively less and less of the nation's food requirements; consequently, the country has become increasingly dependent on imported food supplies. It is clear that the future welfare of India depends upon a better balance of births and deaths. Because the wastage of human life can and will be greatly reduced, the Indian people will need to

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restrict their fecundity if they would avoid a still greater increase in their numbers, with all its attendant hardships. Formidable obstacles will be encountered. While measures for the further control of the death rate will be welcomed, any effort to reduce the birth rate will meet the stubborn resistance of deep-rooted prejudices and taboos. Yet only when India adopts the modern pattern of birth control can she improve her lot, and at the same time serve the rest of the world. For as the living standards of India approach those of the Western countries, new markets for international trade will be opened, with benefit to all.

The Netherlands Indies with their 70 million inhabitants have, for the most part, fared better because of their unique resources. Yet they too have become increasingly overcrowded and may be confronted with much the same population problem as India.

He would be a bold man who would claim to know much about the population of China, let alone hazard a forecast of her future population. Vital statistics are meagre and often of doubtful validity. Yet we know that the Chinese constitute the largest single national aggregation, numbering about 450 millions. The birth rate appears to be of the order of 40 per 1,000 for the country as a whole, and the death rate usually about 30 per 1,000. But civil and foreign wars, recurrent famine and epidemics have tended to wipe out the natural increase and have kept the population fairly stationary.

China's present record gives some hope that the country will develop into a modern, unified and progressive state. This would make possible the extensive industrialization which that country needs and which its rich natural resources can make possible. The increased numbers of educated Chinese who have come into contact with western ideas, the common sense of the people and their freedom from narrow sectarian domination — such as prevails in India — all these should stimulate China's advance. In their extraordinary resistance to a powerful foe, they have sprung a real surprise on the Western world. What the country will accomplish in the postwar period, with the Japanese menace removed, no one can tell. With new opportunities thrown open to exploit her immense and largely untapped resources and

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with a newly awakened consciousness of power, China is in a position to make great forward strides. She will need, however, to set in motion a great redistribution of her population. Several areas in China are dangerously overpopulated, while others in that vast country can support a greater number of people. China, too, can look forward to great improvement in public health with a correspondingly large reduction in her death rate. Consequently, the rapid increase in population which will result will need to be kept in check as in India, by the western pattern of family limitation.

The population of Japan reflects a strange mixture of oriental and western patterns. With 75 million people already concentrated on a land area no larger than our own California and with poor natural resources, it is not surprising that the country suffers from population pressure. Yet, her leaders have not hesitated to formulate a plan of expanding the population to 100 millions by 1960. In the last half century, Japan has become increasingly industrialized and modernized and her birth and death rates have in recent years shown changes comparable to those of the Western world. These rates, however, are still much like ours of about forty years ago. For instance, the prewar birth rate of Japan was about 30 per 1,000, practically the same as ours in 1900. This similarity extends also to the death rate and even to many details of mortality from individual causes of death. In these circumstances, her population has grown, and until recently, has increased at an accelerated pace.

Japan's standard of living has been higher than that of most of Asia but well below that of western Europe. Obviously, it will not be raised unless the population policy of Japan's war lords is reversed and the country put on a stabilized basis. It is, of course, possible that the war, partly by its direct decimating effects, and partly by its indirect influence on the future mode of living, will hasten the population balance. With the war's end, Japan is likely to find the door closed to the emigration of her surplus population. World leaders may even be averse to the restoration of her full prewar industrial capacity which maintained her numbers at a none too favorable economic level. There is every reason to be-

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lieve, therefore, that contraception, a knowledge of which already existed among some elements of her population, will spread among the people, and that the western pattern of population will be repeated in Japan.

It was Japan's purpose to win control over the entire Orient and then to use the unlimited manpower at her disposal as a means of world conquest. This nefarious scheme has fortunately come to naught. The huge aggregations of population which under Japanese domination might well have become a menace to world peace should hold out no grave dangers in the future. With the Japanese in check the people of the Orient are, for the most part, peaceful. If, however, they are to escape the very serious economic difficulties which now confront them, they will all need to learn how to follow more and more the western pattern of limited reproduction. This is a fundamental condition for future peace in the Orient and for the improvement of the lot of its peoples. They have great inherent capacity for production as well as consumption. With their large numbers, the development of these capacities among Oriental nations could bring a major contribution to the future welfare and prosperity of the whole world. This prospect alone would justify all the assistance that we of the Western countries can give.

III

The population situation in western Europe has been very different. In this region, the countries have long been industrialized, and, before the war, the people had attained a fairly high level of well-being. The pattern of population structure had evolved in each of them in much the same way. The improved economy ushered in by the Industrial Revolution was followed by an extraordinary increase in population growth. Thus, in the last century and a half, the peoples of western Europe have almost trebled, in spite of huge emigration. At the beginning of this period, the increase came almost entirely through a reduction in the death rate. While the birth rate was high, it remained practically stationary. About the middle of the last century, however, birth rates also turned downward. Especially during the last

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thirty years they dropped rapidly and have thus reduced the margin of excess of births over deaths. Since further declines in mortality were problematic, the continued declines in the birth rate raised the intriguing question of possible depopulation. In France, a decline in population actually set in some years before the outbreak of the present war. What was the situation in the other European countries?

In these, there was still an excess of births over deaths, the margin varying from country to country. On the surface, at least, it appeared as if they could be assured of a reasonable increase in population. But a more searching look below the surface revealed evidence less encouraging. The fact is that when the crucial test was made to determine whether the current populations were actually reproducing themselves in the coming generation, grave deficiencies were soon discovered. Thus computations showed that with the average family size prevailing just before the war, England and Wales, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland had fallen 20 per cent below the level necessary for the present generation to just reproduce its own numbers. France fell short by 10 per cent and even Germany by 2 per cent. In Germany at the depth of the depression in 1933 the reproduction rate showed a deficiency of 30 per cent. In contrast, Italy showed a safe margin. In our own country, the level of fertility and mortality just before the war showed that we were little more than barely maintaining our population and, in fact, during some of the depression years, we had fallen below that level.

Once the implications of the situation were made clear, many of the European countries took definite steps to boost their birth rates. The earliest systematic effort was made, naturally enough, in France, since the threat of depopulation was first apparent there. The initial steps were taken by voluntary associations, which made it their business to inform the public and to agitate for appropriate legislation. Thus arose a system of family allowances graduated according to the number of children in the wage-earner's family. The extra compensation was paid from equalizing funds to which employers contributed on the basis of the number of their employees. These allowances, which became

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obligatory over a wide industrial field, still proved ineffective, and the French birth rate continued to decrease. In the years following the first World War, it was about 19 per 1,000 and just before the present war it was less than 15. Belgium, with a similar system, had a similar experience.

With entirely different motives, Mussolini inaugurated a campaign for population increase in 1927. He was concerned not so much with fears of depopulation as with his ambition to achieve national expansion. The Italian system included family allowances, the imposition of special taxes on bachelors and discrimination against them in government employment, and finally, severe penalties for illegal abortion and for the sale of contraceptives. These measures, however, served only to retard the decline of the birth rate.

The most radical program of population expansion was that of Germany under Hitler. This included many of the benefits and penalties of the Italian scheme, but in addition provided loans to young couples about to be married — such loans being partially or wholly canceled in proportion to the number of children born to the couple within a certain period of years. Following the institution of this plan, the birth rate rose from 15 per 1,000 in 1933 to 20 in 1939. Yet how much of this rise may be ascribed to the scheme and to the drum-beating and appeals to patriotism that accompanied it is questionable. Certainly much, if not most, of the rise may be attributed to the economic recovery which came with Hitler's revival of Germany's war industries.

A model, perhaps, of how a population program can be developed in accordance with democratic principles is to be found in Sweden. The keynote that runs all through the Swedish plan is one of equality — that whatever measures are adopted apply uniformly to all concerned. It was felt by those in control that if knowledge of contraception, for example, is made available at all, it should equally be available to all classes. At the same time, larger families are encouraged as a patriotic duty. The procedure was not, however, to urge people to have large families indiscriminately; but rather to provide, as far as possible, an economic situation in which a large family can be brought up without

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undue hardship. Accordingly, while the plan included allowances to wage-earners, graduated with the size of their families, it laid greater stress upon providing adequate housing facilities for them. Special settlements built and rented under government supervision were supplied to tenants on a sliding scale which makes allowance for the size of family. In view of the very liberal attitude taken by the government in the measures thus instituted, giving to all the same opportunities for birth release or birth control as they chose, it is interesting to find a rise in the birth rate in recent years.

In the light of the above, what is the outlook for future population growth in these European countries? A scholarly and penetrating study of this subject has recently been completed by Frank W. Notestein and a group of collaborators at the Office of Population Research at Princeton University, working under the auspices of the League of Nations. Their forecasts indicate that practically all of northwestern and central Europe is headed for declining populations. France, as we have seen, is already at that stage. The British Isles and several other countries are close to it. South and east European countries can still look forward to increasing populations until about 1970, but the rate of increase can be expected to diminish steadily. According to this forecast, the population of Europe (exclusive of Russia) may be expected to increase from 400 million in 1939, to a maximum of about 420 million in 1960. After this date there may well be a decline, the extent of which will depend on conditions prevailing later, and which it would be futile to estimate at this time. In any case, the population of Europe outside the Soviet Union will play an increasingly smaller part in the world's demographic picture.

In common with eastern Europe generally, the Soviet Union follows a pattern different from that of the Western countries. It represents rather an earlier stage of population growth, seen now in greater maturity in the western European nations. The Soviet Union is evolving a combined industrial and agricultural economy although its agriculture is heavily mechanized and increasingly productive. The bulk of the people will probably remain on the land, a condition conducive to a high birth rate;

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while with medical advances and better public health organization, the death rate in the Soviet Union is certain to be cut sharply. There is, therefore, every prospect for a considerable growth in numbers. That nation shows all the characteristics of a young and vigorous population, recalling to mind conditions in western Europe two generations ago. This is reflected in the Princeton forecast which puts the population of the Union at 251 million in 1970, as against the 174 million estimated for 1940, an increase of 44 per cent in the next three decades. This may be compared with an increase of less than 5 per cent for all of Europe west of the old Soviet border.

Such estimates as these, though subject to a margin of uncertainty because they do not include the war losses, do bring out clearly the increased importance of the Soviet Republic in European and world affairs in the coming years. This immense aggregation of people will have come into their own, and with their great gifts will give color and direction to the life of Europe and of the rest of the world.

IV

The situation in the United States is of particular interest because it telescopes an almost meteoric development of population within the relatively short period of about 150 years. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, our population numbered a little over five million. At the present time, it is in excess of 138 million. As against this skyrocket rise, we are now at that point in population development where fertility and mortality are coming into balance. Present indications point to a gradual approach to stabilization in the size of our population. The country is definitely following the pattern seen in western Europe.

Two factors have stood out in our unusual development; the extraordinary fertility of the people, especially in pioneer days, and the flow of immigrants from Europe. Of these two forces, the former was the more important. Prior to the Revolution and for several decades thereafter, the birth rate of the country was extremely high — about 50 per 1,000. The death rate was also high, although moderated by the relatively small proportion of old

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people and by the richness of the country and freedom from crowding. The average family in the early days had about eight children. Many families, of course, exceeded this figure. Such a situation could not continue indefinitely, and as the years went by, the birth rate fell. About the middle of the last century, it was a little over 40, a figure which is still high in comparison with recent rates, and with the all-time low of 16.6 in 1933, at the depth of the economic depression. Meanwhile, the death rate also dropped, thanks to advances in medical and sanitary science. Because of the roughly parallel decline of the birth rate and death rate, the natural increase of the population was well maintained.

Supplementing the high fertility of the people in the earlier decades, was the continued accretion from without. In all, about 40 million people were admitted to the country. They were, for the most part, from the agricultural and working classes of Europe, and until comparatively recent times, tended to have large families. To this day, some of the recent immigrant stocks have high birth rates, although the trend even for these people is in the direction of the lower figures of the native population.

It is not surprising, therefore, that through a great part of our history the excess of the birth rate over the death rate — that is, the crude rate of natural increase — was considerable. It was as high as 3 per cent per year at the beginning of the nineteenth century. After a long continued but gradual decline, it reached bottom with .5 per cent in 1933. In the past few years, reflecting the impact of war and a flood of war marriages, the rate of natural increase has been materially higher, reaching 1.1 per cent in 1943. This is, of course, a temporary phenomenon. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the crude rate of natural increase in this country is for the time being substantial. The war to date has not adversely affected our numbers.

However, just as in most European countries, we too have been profiting by the higher birth rates of earlier years. These have given us a relatively large proportion of persons between 20 and 40 years of age who are the main contributors to our birth rate. This abundance of persons in the reproductive age groups will gradually diminish and, even without any reduction in the aver-

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age size of the family, the birth rate is due for further decline. In fact, indications are that it will gradually approach a level of about 15 per 1,000, lower than in the depression period. In the meanwhile, with the increasing proportion of older people in the population, the death rate will rise to approximately the same figure. We would, then, approach a point of maximum numbers which should be reached by 1985 when the population will be approximately 160 million. After this date a slow decline may be expected to set in.

V

We have said little concerning the effects of war on population; yet this is very much in the mind of everyone at the present time. World wars throw out of gear, even if temporarily, the usual patterns of population. Birth rates decline and death rates mount. Under these conditions, population increase is often brought to a standstill and in some countries is converted into a negative quantity. As the result of the last war, belligerent populations were reduced by almost 50 millions; Russia alone suffered a loss of some 26 million people. These figures include military and civilian losses and the unborn children who might ordinarily have been expected during the war period. In this war also, huge numbers of civilians as well as military personnel have already been killed on both sides. Millions of others have been uprooted from their home areas to become wanderers or slave laborers. Still other millions have been ruthlessly destroyed by a maniacal enemy. Altogether, the second World War bids fair to exceed the first in its destructive effects.

The close of the war will find large areas of Europe and of the Orient in chaotic condition. Perhaps as much as 10 per cent of the normal population of Europe will be found displaced, without homes and without visible means of support. It should be the first order of business after the war to set aright the confusion in the population situation. The shuffling of peoples by the Nazis must, of course, be undone. In addition, it may be necessary to take effective measures with regard to the resettlement of national minorities in a manner to avoid the disturbances which have arisen perennially from this source.

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It is desirable, therefore, that whatever type of international council or organization is constituted by the United Nations to safeguard peace and economic welfare, it include a competent and representative commission to study and explore existing population problems and to devise suitable remedies. The council should have power or should be ready to delegate to the Population Commission sufficient authority to implement recommendations arising from such studies. These should be based not upon short-term or opportunistic considerations but upon a global policy which reflects the needs and resources of the peoples of the world.

The first task of the Commission should, of course, be the solution of the urgent population problems arising directly out of the war. Any plans devised by the Commission must lead to the rehabilitation and rehousing of the people who are being resettled or restored to their home areas and the occupational retraining of the huge numbers of men whose livelihood has been destroyed. Financial aid on a large scale will certainly be required to provide the capital and the tools for reestablishing these large numbers. The Population Commission should, therefore, work in the closest cooperation with whatever financial and administrative agencies are set up to expedite the economic restoration of the postwar world.

Even in the midst of these pressing matters, the Population Commission should be ready also to take up certain long-range projects. A major concern will be those countries with teeming populations which have in the past advanced but little in the modern industrial scale and which will need a measure of relief from population pressure. It will, therefore, be in order to study the possibilities of migration from overpopulated to less populated areas, the availability of natural resources and their development for increased industrialization. It must be recognized, however, that in the present state of world opinion, mass migration is not favorably considered and may not prove practicable. At best, such movements are only temporary stop-gaps because they may encourage continued increase of population in the over-congested areas. Nevertheless, the field should be explored in a spirit of international amity. Purely nationalistic considera-

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tions should not be allowed to stand in the way of the broader demands of international peace and welfare.

An effective world organization is a basic condition for any program which will deal with the world-wide population problem and its related economic and social adjustments. The numerous trade barriers which had become so troublesome before the war must be lowered and perhaps eventually removed. If the war has taught us anything, it is that no country is self-sufficient. The costly and futile efforts toward self-sufficiency in which even small nations were engaged before the war must give way to a better balanced world economy. The stabilization of peace and the rise of living standards throughout the world will depend upon such an achievement. The more favored nations must help those less advanced to put their houses in order. This will be particularly necessary for those agricultural countries where present systems of land ownership or management retard the full utilization of resources. When even such improvement will not support the people on the land, encouragement should be given to the development of native industries and to the utilization of surplus workers in the industries of adjoining countries. Recent recommendations of the International Labor Office will provide the necessary safeguards.

In the long run, however, the solution of the world population problem will rest with the people themselves. It will call for a two-sided program. On the one hand, there must be very active dissemination of birth control in the overpopulated areas. The rank and file of the people, as well as their leaders, must be won over to this pattern of reproduction. The spread of birth control will meet with severe opposition and will take much time to have effect; but there is no escape from such a course. On the other hand, the nations which are threatened with depopulation (and they include the most advanced in the world) must develop an ardent will to survive. In these countries families of sufficient size to insure the maintenance of their populations on at least current levels must be encouraged. Nothing less than the preservation of civilization is at stake. The motive for larger families must not only reflect religious sanctions but must arise from the

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deepest springs of patriotism and of self-interest. It is unthinkable that we should continue to live in a world with large and increasing areas of overpopulation where famine, disease and social unrest prevail, while we who have advanced most in the scale, shall permit ourselves to play a continuously smaller and perhaps dwindling part in world leadership. A spirit of global responsibility for a well-balanced world population structure must be developed if the human race is to continue its advance or even to escape catastrophe.

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Dante's Own Comedy

Jefferson B. Fletcher

TO GET a proper understanding of Dante's poem we should forget the title "Divine Comedy." The adjective "Divine" was added as a complimentary epithet by an editor of 1555. Dante's own title is given in his Epistle-dedicatory of the *Paradiso* to the lord of Verona, Can Grande. In this Epistle he observes scrupulously the rules of rhetorical exegesis. According to medieval rhetoric, a title should be, among other things, "a mirror, as it were, and custodian and compendium carrying generally the sum and substance of the whole work." In pursuance of this requirement, Dante gives as his title: *The Comedy of Dante Alighieri, Florentine by birth, not by character.*

By medieval definition, a "comedy" is a story, written in lowly or humble style, opening in adversity, but closing in prosperity. It is Dante's own story from the mid-point of his life — a story beginning in Hell and ending in Paradise. It is written in a lowly or humble style, because Dante is writing of himself, and as St. Paul, also writing of himself, says, "It is not expedient for me to glory."

Dante modeled his story, basically, upon two literary sources, the sixth book of Virgil's *Aeneid* and the twelfth chapter of *Second Corinthians*. He represents himself as repeating in principle the otherworld experiences of Aeneas and Paul, and for like reasons: like Aeneas, he is to father a revived Roman Empire, in which there shall be peace with justice; like Paul, he is to

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reassure men's faith, justifying the ways of God to men. His own reward and happy ending will be to be brought, first here on earth

> From Florence to a people just and sound, —
> (*Par.* 31. 30)

to a new Florence, regenerate daughter

> Of that Rome where Christ is a Roman:
> (*Purg.* 32. 102)

and then hereafter to be immortally with Beatrice in that heavenly Rome itself.

Such in barest outline is Dante's "comedy" as concerns himself. It can also be read as the comedy of mankind, in so far as he (as he says in the Epistle) represents Man — that is, the redeemable few of men.

Now, let me fill in the outline as simply as possible, excluding the many confirmatory, but also complicating correspondences that offer themselves.

In the year 1300, when the *Comedy* opens, the world, like himself, Dante declares, was in a parlous state. There was papal Jubilee at Rome; but mankind was being drowned by a new Flood — a flood of covetousness. Exclaims the poet:

> O Covetousness, which sinkest in such wise
> Mortals beneath thee, that above thy waves
> Not any one hath power to lift his eyes!
> (*Par.* 27. 121–3)

And the blame for this state of affairs Dante lays upon the Papacy itself. By nature men are of good will, but easily misled. And the Papacy, itself misled by inordinate desire of present things — temporal wealth and power — has misled the rest. Appointed shepherd of Christ's flock, it has turned wolf. As Dante explains at length in his essay of *Monarchy*, Christ's "magnificent plan" for man's redemption calls for a twofold guidance — temporal guidance by a universal monarch, the Roman Emperor, and spiritual guidance by the head of the Church, the Roman Pope. Unless the Roman Prince stays the flood of human covetousness, few (and these with greatest difficulty) can reach the haven of freedom and peace with justice.

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Dante, as will appear, is one of these few; but the most of men are lost. For the Pope has usurped the Emperor's temporal power; and, attempting to use it, has only polluted his own spiritual character and influence. Instead of curing covetousness, he has become an infectious example of it. So Dante is told:

> Say thou henceforward that the Roman Church,
> Confounding in herself two governments,
> Fallen in the mire, doth self and load besmirch.
> (*Purg.* 16.127–9)

It all began, according to Dante, when in well-meaning but misguided gratitude for curing him of leprosy, the first Christian Emperor, Constantine, gave Pope Sylvester I his Western Empire and himself retired to his new capital, Constantinople. So was the Papacy blooded with lust of temporal power. And — *hinc sunt lachrymae.*

Hence the villain of Dante's *Comedy* is the corrupted and corrupting Papacy. He portrays this Papacy as the Scarlet Woman of the Apocalypse, carrying in her hand the "cup of abominations," and "whoring with kings." The car of the Church, on which she is seated, is transformed by the stolen plumes of the imperial Eagle into a monstrous seven-headed Beast. The Popes of Dante's own time are shown in Hell buried heels-over-head — like their Lord, Satan. St. Peter, the first Pope, climaxes the indictment:

> He who usurpeth upon earth my place,
> My place, my place, which in the sight of Him,
> The Son of God, is vacant of His grace,
> A sewer of my burial-place hath made
> Of blood and filth, whereby his lust perverse
> Who fell from here, down yonder is allayed.
> (*Par.* 27.22–7)

There is but one possible remedy. The "thief" of Caesar's patrimony must be stripped of her pernicious loot. There must be rendered back unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. The poet believes this can be done, will be done; and he declares himself called upon to announce one, "sent from God," who shall do it.

Dante himself is doubly victim of the general corruption —

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as a Florentine citizen and as a responsible individual. Florence, the Guelf city, supported the recreant Pope against the Emperor. Indeed, says Dante, by her money-power, her gold florin, she supplied the Pope with the sinews of the evil war. He is told in Paradise:

> Thy city, — which was planted by that one
> Who first upon his Maker turned his back,
> And from whose envy sorrow was begun, —
> Doth the accursèd flower bring forth and spread
> Which, having turned the shepherd to a wolf,
> Hath everywhere both sheep and lambs misled.
> (*Par.* 9.127–32)

So Florence is doomed by Christ, who said: "Every plant, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up." (*Mat.* 15.13).

Dante himself, moreover, was individually and willfully guilty. As he confessed,

> . . . things present with their vain
> Enticement turned aside my steps.
> (*Purg.* 31.34–5)

Covetous of place and power, he had accepted high office among the Florentines, and so directly involved himself in their guilt. In 1300, indeed, the year of his election to highest office, he has come to realize the iniquity of the place in which he finds himself, and tries to escape up the mount of rectitude, but finds his way blocked by three savage beasts, a lion, a leopard, and a she-wolf. These are the vices of pride, envy, and avarice, which, as he presently is told (*Inf.* 6.74–5), inflame the hearts of virtually all Florentines. Most inexorable is the she-wolf of avarice, of the *amor habendi* ("love of having"), as Aquinas broadly defines it. It is this vice that Dante owns to as his chief stumbling block. But, also, *having* begets pride; *not having*, envy. And to pride and envy too, if in lesser degree, Dante confesses in the *Purgatorio* (13.133–8).

And now Virgil appears, revealing to his awakened conscience the greatness of his fault, and the one practicable way of escape. Virgil's voice, at first faint and indistinct, becomes at last clear and compelling. At last Dante is given to understand Virgil's

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prophecy, in the *Aeneid*, of the Roman Empire. For long, as he tells in his *Monarchy*, he had believed the Romans had won their world-empire by force of arms alone; now he recognizes that it was ordained by God. Virgil's prophecy, then, of its divine and enduring right was as inspired as his prophecy in the fourth Eclogue of Christ. What the wondrous Boy of the Eclogue does, the Augustus Caesar of the sixth *Aeneid* does; each brings back the Golden Age of peace with justice. Also, as Statius, *crede* Dante, was converted by the agreement of Virgil's words in the Eclogue with those of the "new preachers" of Christ, so Dante himself is converted by the agreement of Virgil's words in the *Aeneid* with those of Christ himself. Virgil said, for instance, that the Roman way of peace is

> Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos;
> (*Aen.* 6.853)

and Christ said:

> Whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.
> (*Luke* 14.11)

And both in the *Banquet* and in the *Monarchy*, Dante gives Scriptural warrant for the Roman Empire's divine right.

In standing in with the enemies of the Empire, then, Dante is opposing God, and for selfish reasons too. At last so low he is fallen, declares Beatrice, that the only way to save him is to show him "the lost people"; and Virgil is to do that for him (*Purg.* 30.136–41). But how, actually, can Dante follow Virgil, be loyal to Virgil's cause? How otherwise than any patriot must do in an enemy-occupied country — *go underground*, work under cover? Dante does not have to leave Florence to be shown "the lost people": they are there, that populace aflame with "pride, envy, and avarice," cubs of the rapacious old she-wolf of Rome. He did remain there, hell as it was; but he remained in it, not of it, "Florentine by birth, not by character." And how effectively he worked under cover is proved by Pope Boniface's vindictive anger. Boniface had an old claim on Tuscany, and was eager to get Florence under his control. Sensing Dante's covert opposition, he brought about the latter's condemnation

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and exile. As the poet's forebear, Cacciaguida, foretells:

> As through his stepdame's false and cruel art
> Hippolytus departed out of Athens,
> So out of Florence thou must needs depart.
> And this is willed, already this is sought,
> And shall be compassed soon by him who plans it
> Even there where daily Christ is sold and bought.
> (*Par.* 17.46–51)

While he remained in Florence, however, Dante was shown "the lost people"; and from their wickedness, and certain punishment, he was able to take warning, and to warn others. And that would be the "good" he got, as he said (*Inf.* 1.8–9), from his experience of Hell. Virgil, the real Virgil, is still his guide in the analysis of evil, for Dante and his age believed that under the letter of the *Aeneid* was to be read a moral philosophy.

Dante's expulsion from Florence was really a deliverance. As the shade of his revered Brunetto Latini tells him, that

> . . . ingrate malignant populace . . .
> Will be to thee, for thy well-doing, foe;
> Which is as should be, for among sour sorbs
> Ill unto fruitage may the sweet fig grow.
> (*Inf.* 15.64–6)

So, still following Virgil, both as moral teacher and as prophet of the peace-bringing Empire, Dante climbs the purgatorial hill. This time no she-wolf of covetousness blocks the way. He has been rescued from that vice, but must still pay "the scot of penitence that sheddeth tears." He can say with St. Augustine:

> I was healthfully distracted, and dying, to live; knowing what evil thing I was, and not knowing what good thing I was shortly to become.

Dante does not *know;* but Virgil, who cannot be a false prophet, gives him hope. The God-ordained Roman Emperor must surely come again to redeem Italy. And this hope seemed on the point of fulfillment when in 1310 the Emperor Henry VII did come to "straighten Italy." Dante was jubilant. Unfortunately, Henry's way was blocked by the wolves of Florence, set on by the she-wolf of Rome. And Dante denounced them for it in a bitter open letter. Then Henry died. Still Dante was not for long disheartened. Henry died; but left behind him his Vicar-General, Can

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Grande della Scala, to fight on, triumphantly, for the Empire. And Dante finds many signs pointing to Can as the predestined Deliverer. There seemed a pre-established harmony in his very name, Great Dog; for the dog is the natural enemy of the wolf, and guardian of the flock. Can's family, which first gave Dante asylum in his exile, for its escutcheon

> bears on the ladder (*Scala*) the sacred Bird —
> (*Par.* 17.78)

the Roman Eagle. The warrior Can Grande was born under the planet Mars, in the heaven of which Dante sees the crusaders of the Cross and the triumph of the Eagle of Justice. Dante first met Can when the latter was nine years old, the age of Beatrice when he first met her. So there appears association between his temporal advocate and his spiritual one. As a medieval man Dante put faith in such signs. More realistically, he could see Can Grande proceeding from conquest to conquest in Italy, and justly governing the occupied parts. Lombardy was already occupied; and adjacent was Tuscany.

Tuscany conquered, Virgil's promise for Dante would be fulfilled. Then could Dante re-enter his beloved sheepfold, cleared of its wolves, and receive in his baptistery of St. John the poet's laurel. Seeing him now under just imperial protection, Virgil could bless his charge with these last words:

> Await no more my bidding, nor my beck,
> Upright and sound is now thy will, and free,
> And its impulsion 'twere a fault to check;
> Over thyself I crown and mitre thee.
> (*Purg.* 27.139–42)

So Dante is ripe for Beatrice's spiritual instruction. His earthly comedy reaches its happy ending.

Meanwhile, in the present time of trial, he feels called upon to contribute to this glorious consummation. His only weapon with which to fight the enemies of Christ's plan is that given him by Virgil, the persuasive eloquence of his "fair style." With that sword of the spirit he will force Virgil's message again upon the world, write a second *Aeneid*, himself in the rôle of a second Aeneas, a second "father" of imperial Rome. And he feels him-

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self divinely commissioned to the task. James, Apostle of Hope, examining him in that virtue, says:

> Because so wills our Emperor of His grace
> That before death, in this most secret chamber,
> Thou shouldst confront his Barons, face to face, —
> So that, the truth beholding of this court,
> Unto the hope which moves to righteous love
> Thou mayst in thee and others bring support, —
> Say what it is, and how is blossoming
> Thy mind with it, and whence it came to thee.
> (*Par.* 25.40–7)

And Dante replies that his hope came first from David the Psalmist, and then from James himself in his Epistle. Especially this text would apply:

> Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts; for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh. (5.8)

So Dante, through Virgil, Beatrice, St. Peter, prophesies one at hand, sent by God, to punish the recreant Papacy and re-establish in full power the Empire.

Dante felt assured, moreover, that he himself was a chosen vessel, a brand saved from the burning to light the world. Fuller justification of that conviction is given in the Epistle to Can Grande, but the first evidence to himself of his superiority to other men lay in the quality of his love for Beatrice. The effects upon him of that love, while his lady was still alive on earth, he tells in his *New Life:*

> I say that when she appeared from any direction, by the hope of her wondrous salutation no enemy was left to me, but rather a flame of charity possessed me which made me pardon whomsoever had offended me; and to him who had then asked of me concerning any matter, my answer would have been simply: Love! with a countenance clothed in humility. . . . And when this most gentle lady gave salutation, so far from Love being such a medium as might dull the unbearable beatitude, he seemed rather become such by surfeit of sweetness, that my body, which was wholly under his rule, many times fell like a heavy lifeless thing. So that it plainly appears that my beatitude lay in her salutation which many times exceeded and overflowed my capacity. (No. 11)

Not everyone can love like that.

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Love and a gentle heart are one same thing,
(§ 20)

he said — after his master Guinizelli, who had also said:

The sun shines on the mud all day, and it remains mud.

Dante therefore is no mere representative, or typical, man. His is a "gentle heart, bestowed by grace at birth." He is one of the elect. For men are born free, but not equal. That is the mystery of predestination. It is what gives to babes, who have not lived long enough to acquire merit or demerit, a higher or a lower place in Heaven.

The Florentine girl of Dante's adoration died. But her immortal soul lives again, and loves. For among the blessed where she is, prevails that

Love which none loved not loving will allow.

In his worshipful imagination he sees her ever more beautiful, ever more loving; and in his ever greater responsive love, he lives only to please her. That is the meaning of his last words to her:

May thy magnificence watch over me,
So that my soul, which thou hast remade sound,
Be from the body loosed, pleasing to thee.
(*Par.* 31.88–90)

His will and desire will have become moved in one accord with hers, and so through her at last in one accord with

The Love that moves the sun and other stars.
(*Par.* 33.145)

His Beatrice is thus revealed to be what his friend Cino had declared her name to mean — his *Beatitude*. "*Nomina sunt consequentia rerum*," he had said in his *New Life*. Beatitude is the vision of God; and in Beatrice it was as if he had seen God, face to face, so that he might say with St. Paul:

Within that heaven which most hath of His light
Was I; and things I saw that to retell
Who thence descendeth hath nor wit nor might.
(*Par.* 1.4–6)

It is the Empyrean heaven of "the fire of holy love," into which St. Paul in the twelfth verse of *Second Corinthians* declares that

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he had been "caught up . . . and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for man to utter." So Dante goes on to explain:

> Because, approaching nigh unto its desire,
> The mind attaineth such profundity
> That back thereto can memory not retire.
> (*Par.* 1.7–9)

Memory fades, but the effect of the beatific vision — which is to say, possession of the soul by holy love — remains. And Paul, says Aquinas,

> was not rapt that he might be blest, but that he might be a witness of blessedness.

Or, as Dante put it:

> That whither went the Chosen Vessel then
> To reassure that faith which to the way
> Of their salvation first admitteth men.
> (*Inf.* 2.28–30)

So, the implication is, Dante was not blest by Beatrice for his own sake alone, but that he might bring blessedness to men. In his Epistle to Can Grande he offers this analogy of himself with St. Paul as the supreme sanction of his own mission "to bring men living in this life out of a state of misery, and to lead them into a state of felicity." Once again his modest disclaimer,

> Aeneas am I not; I am not Paul,

is refuted in the event. Like Aeneas, he has descended into lowest Hell; like Paul, he has ascended into highest Heaven; like both, he has returned to earth to deliver a comforting message to men.

And he draws other analogies between himself and St. Paul — analogies which illumine the action of the poem. In principle, it might be said of Dante what the Lord said to Ananias of Saul:

> He is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel, for I will shew him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake.
> (*Acts* 9.15–16)

And such great sufferings are predicted for Dante in carrying out his defense of Christ's plan. He realizes it:

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Down through the world of woe that never dies,
And on the mountain from whose summit fair
I was uplifted by my Lady's eyes,
And through the heavens, from light to light, withal,
Things I have heard which, if I tell again,
Will be to many as a taste of gall.
(*Par.* 17.112–17)

But Cacciaguida encourages him:

Conscience under cloud
Or of its own or of another's shame
Will deem indeed thy speaking harshly proud.
But none the less, from falsehood keeping free,
Do thou make all thy vision manifest,
And where the itch is let the scratching be.
(*Par.* 17.124–9)

Again, to Saul, blinded by the glory of Christ, Ananias gave back his sight, and caused him to be filled with the Holy Spirit. Likewise to Dante, blinded by John, the beloved disciple and apostle of Love, Beatrice, who, he is told,

hath in her regard
The power that was in Ananias' hand,
(*Par.* 26.11–12)

gives back his sight, and kindles in him

the fire wherewith I ever burn —
(*Par.* 26.15)

the fire of the Holy Spirit of Love.

Such a spiritually felicitous conclusion is given to Dante's earthly comedy. Now, at peace in a regenerate Florence, filled with holy love, it becomes him, as he says in the *Banquet*, in this last age of his life, to fit himself for the heavenly paradise, to render himself up to God, to begin that "itinerary of the mind towards God" which is the supreme concern of every medieval mystic. Then,

Just as a man who comes off a long journey, before he enters the gates of his own city, is met by her citizens, so the noble soul is met (as it should be) by the citizens of the life immortal. And they meet her by means of her good actions and reflections. For, having already rendered herself up to God and withdrawn from worldly thought and things, she seems to see those whom she believes to be with God.
(4.28 Jackson tr.)

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This is the narrative clue of the *Paradiso*. Those citizens of the life immortal whom Dante meets on his journey through the heavens, are the saints and sages of times past, whose lives had been an inspiration, whose words he had studied. And now their answers to his questions, harmonized in his understanding, make his poem also a more summary *Summa Theologica*, thus adding another benefit to his example, and to the message he reports after Virgil. It may be said to be Beatrice's contribution, that which should "lead men living in this life to *eternal* felicity."

In conclusion, two reflections may be made upon Dante's relation to ourselves. For his advocacy of the Roman Empire, he may be, and has been, called the poet of a lost cause. His argument in the first book of the *De Monarchia*, however, for a universal monarchy, or world super-state, as essential to world peace, has nothing to do with Rome; and he might in consistency have eliminated Rome from the prophecy, as inspired, of the *Aeneid*, as he did from that of the Eclogue. In so far, he could be said to have anticipated the arguments of those who today are demanding a world super-state for world peace.

Again, it is intriguing to note that the Pope of our day who accepted Vatican City as his sufficient temporal demesne, renounced and denounced, in words strangely reminiscent of Dante's own, any claim to further temporal power as inevitably conducive to covetousness in the Church. A truly rare poetic justice!

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Animus Redundant

A Sonnet Sequence

Robert Simeon Adams

I

Consume, oh love, the flesh upon the earth
Or chemic lust will tear it cell from cell;
Who can pronounce the love that gave it birth
When buried deep in time's despotic hell?
Erosion of flesh, extraction of earth again,
All bones to white alloy of clay and sod,
When we shall enter that dark legerdemain
Where splintered atoms are the food of God.

Bless now the firm conjunction of an hour,
The preparation of the earth's strong force,
The sceptered passage, blistered with the power
That warmed denial and the infirm course
That in this infirm light we would conceal.
What buried worlds our weaker words reveal.

II

Soil then these hands to briefer petals cast.
To fall again, again to fall to touch
To faithful grasses in brief summer's fast,
And touch them with soft wounds, oh softer much
Than they have known. Oh autumn rivers deep
With rising waters, winds that drift ashore,
Touch the eternal silence, deepen sleep,
Conceal the dust, conceal the dust no more.

◎ ROBERT SIMEON ADAMS has been headmaster of the Lakeside School, Seattle, Washington, since 1934.

Thanks are due to the editor of *Voices* for permission to reprint sonnets 3, 5, 6, which appeared in *Voices* in 1940.

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The heart is not a petal, sire, it's flung
Like dough by minions over kitchen boards.
The flesh is cast commingling with its dung.
Oh bitter penman whose misquoted words
Are ricocheted from drawing room to park
Implore the shades that echo through the dark.

III

We shall be sponsors of this love soon after
We bury our dead with seemly dirge at three,
Mourn our own tears, consume our little laughter,
And then return and warm ourselves with tea,
And leave a steel denial to the rats
And oozing earth's unholy pungent sweat,
A dark and hermit house where ritual bats
Denude the light in rooms the winds forget.

What we conceal the earth will storm and pinion,
Turn with its turn and cover with its night;
Oh, give to us a moment's warm dominion,
We shall presume we both must face this blight;
Yet fear again the shadow of the power
That stands upon the threshold of this hour.

IV

We know all agony must come to less
Than pondered nothingness, the unheard sound,
Less than the echo of your rustling dress;
The earth is turning, turning in its round;
We contemplate a spectre on the wall,
Our words fall softly, feel of eyelids sweep
The flickering light, a hand may rise and fall,
And are we really sad and must we weep?

Shall every poet write love's testament
Bequeathing dying words from moving pen,
Building such words into a monument
That sinks its weight into the earth again?
Therefore, O sullen words, become no more
Than granite chaos under the earth's floor.

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V

Then with dread hands we will each window batten,
Desert this day and nail its shuttered door;
And in its room let all its vermin fatten,
And breed in crevice of its stair and floor.
Into its gables night will crawl, and crumble
Despairing light; and winds alone will stalk
And sound the rafters with inhuman mumble
Jeering the raptures of our human talk.

Anchor the darkness deeper than the hollow
Of empty caverns under soundless peaks,
Trailing no daylight into nights that follow,
And keep no panels of remembered weeks,
Only the walls to face the passerby
And the dark gables to confront the sky.

VI

I am no Prince of Darkness, Lord of Sorrow,
Perhaps Narcissus gazing in a pool,
Or Hamlet fearing his own dead tomorrow
In Yorick's skull — alas, alas, poor fool.
I am in love so often with reflection;
I look upon the mirrors that will show
Only the mind, a fixed and bright projection
Caught in the shadows that the mirrors know;

Yet I have seen that undeceiving picture
Of phosphorescent bone, with sockets bare,
Only the fiery bone, rid of its vesture
Of mouth and eyelids, cheeks, and flowing hair,
And where the heart might kindle laughter's spark
Only two holes that deepened into dark.

VII

Break for us rocks in virgin tombs to scatter
Prisms of light where dripping water slides;
Yet will one shift of stone or drowned light matter
Wherein no ray of sun will ever glide?

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We are but trailed as from the storms of summer,
A few full clouds that hasten and are gone,
Leaving the drops upon the blades to glimmer
And jewel the grass the sun will dance upon.

Then comes the sun in sparks of maliced wonder
To break bright crystals on the changing leaf.
Until rain comes again with crash and thunder
We catch one gleam, only a gleam of grief;
And though that gleam is but a glimpse of death,
That, too, shall darken with the dying breath.

VIII

Invisible hands may bathe the withered feet,
The withered eyes. You with the dreams abide
In a dream of kingdoms where our hands may meet
As light of stars after the stars have died.
To answer grief the heart must learn to speak
Over the voice until our cleansing tears
Are wisdom's choice, and welcome hours to seek
Imprisoned words to capture all our fears.

One light I know that shines so sure and far
And casts an image on the ocean floor
Is starlight flowing from a long dead star
And even now lights sailors to some shore.
Across death's margin let your light be shed
As rays from stars that are a long time dead.

IX

After your fearless eyes there will be sight,
And kisses when your full red mouth is still;
We do not bury in forgetful night
The gestures that fulfilled desire and will;
And lips will kiss again and hearts will soar
In all the ages that will follow ours;
We give to them the well bound little store
Of songs of wisdom fallen from these hours.

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Short is each kiss; eternal on the stage
Desire and gesture and the quiet voice;
The lips will change that sing another age;
In this immortal, little we rejoice:
That we will pass, while word and gesture live
As to the earth our silences we give.

X

If this be all, let Lethe render here
A coverlet for sorrow, let our words
Be fledges taught to fly from our dark fear,
Let us be still like shy and hidden birds.
Let us create what is far deeper still,
The fear of Gods that judge us from afar,
The love of love until we find the will
To give us patience, patience that we are

The instruments of more than we can see,
A change of atoms swung from pole to pole,
A sip of pollen lifted to the bee,
A voice to speak, yet blinder than the mole.
Let us be current that are fragile coins
Minted from earth and buried in her loins.

XI

We are the triumphs of a cyclic stirring
As dust is blown over the field or street
Or spindrift of loud waves an instant whirring
Where the flung water and the brown sand meet.
We are the miracles of softer metal,
Softer than tree bark or the bird's slim beak
Over which faggots and dead grass will settle;
There is a fracture in the words we speak.

Yet there is sunlight twisting in the gravel
Of breaking cliffs the headlong water scars;
From unseen ways the magic waves will travel
With flying mantles from the moon and stars
And sink the cliffs to the invisible wells
Where life lies hidden in the deep sea shells.

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The Theatre Indivisible

Frederic McConnell

BROOKS ATKINSON, the distinguished drama critic of the *New York Times*, said in a malcontent mood not so long ago, "The theatre just now seems to be living in a state of suspended animation without much enthusiasm or originality. Nothing seems to be growing. It is an era when the road is suffering from a slight case of embalmment. From the point of view of playgoing the situation is dismal enough. But the tragic thing is the waste of potential ability."

The New York theatre against which this blast is loosed is compositely the greatest producer of theatrical goods in the world. It is a serious matter if it fails or declines. Here, concentrated in the sacred precincts of a few streets, is a noble galaxy of talent, brains, money and power. Ranging all the way from the Cherry Sisters to the Theatre Guild, there is no work too good or too bad, no resource, ingenuity or skill which can defy its challenge. It is the theatre of high stakes and high prices — stimulating, exciting, competitive. But along with its highest ideals and finest intent it struggles against the corroding pressure of two mastering forces, vested capital and union labor, both of which in their predatory ambitions are jointly contributing to its eclipse.

"The theatre is bound by fetters of its own making," writes Edith J. R. Isaacs, editor of *Theatre Arts* magazine, in an article in the *New York Times*. "It is a house divided against itself in a hundred ways. The men who own the theatre fight the man who rents it; they both fight the unions who dominate it and who fight each other in a vain endeavor to secure a safe living out of a gambling house. Directors fight the actors; actors fight costume designers; the stagehands fight the teamsters; the musicians fight everybody. By the time what seemed to be a play gets to the stage

© FREDERIC McCONNELL, director of the Cleveland Play House, is also editor of the *National Theatre Conference Bulletin*.

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it has suffered bruises from a hundred hands. Why bother, then? It isn't worth the agony."

This may all be true. But it is not the purpose of this article to berate the commercial theatre. Its fate may be left to the prescriptions of its own critics, those scribes who know most and say it best. Our object will be to examine and extol an opportunity outside New York, and disparate with the octopean empire of the amusement industry; to reveal the potent promise of that indigenous local theatre which exists in a hundred centers over the nation, and which, if realized, activated and exploited, will produce a new theatre of authentic and national significance.

With the postwar period before us, the time has come to establish in our local communities a theatre complement to that little box of moving cellulose — to restore to a new generation the glamor and substance of a living stage. The foundation is already laid. It is the local resident theatre, operating not for profit, and at present largely amateur in character. Through the simple and direct expedient of utilizing on the spot already existing personnel, technic and equipment, we may solve the economic and histrionic problems of supplying the legitimate wants of a decentralized national audience.

Pull up the curtain everywhere on the theatre at its best. In short, raise the local theatre to a professional level of skill and experience. Tap at the source a vast reservoir of young talent, and older too, already trained in the amateur theatre. Put it to work and give it livelihood. Further, avoid the risk and uncertainty of the imported Broadway enterprise, and the economic, social and artistic rules that control it. Draw from the local community and reflect its spirit. Establish a system of resident theatre organizations, professionally conceived, and operating not for profit.

The forerunners of this new theatre were those impassioned, undisciplined, and sometimes esoteric groups who some thirty years ago, when new ideas were streaking across the stage, turned their backs on the futility and sterility of the regular theatre, and in churches and coach houses, abandoned storerooms and railway arches, determined that the theatre should be an art and not a business. Local theatres sprang up and developed everywhere,

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variously and inconclusively identified as "little," "tributary," "amateur," "community," "civic," "art," or "non-commercial" — anything in the catalogue from the drama circle of Painted Post to the Cleveland Play House. They have in varying degree grown in success, size and stature. Today, a hundred or so of these theatres, both in the community and university field, are equipped and schooled to assume leadership in founding a new American theatre.

While most of these groups originally were organized around the amateur idea, functioning largely for the benefit of the participating performer, and for the opportunity for self-expression of those affiliated with them, there since has been a gradual evolution towards a theatre existing and functioning for its own sake, and for the public which supports it. The result is that there has been a consistent deviation from the amateur principle. Such matters as direction, management, public relations, stage design and technical production have been turned over to paid professionals, mostly men and women who have worked up in the groups themselves, or who have been trained in the professional theatre departments of universities and colleges. On the other hand, acting has adhered to the amateur fetish. Lacking that authority and finish that come only with time, study and experience, it betrays an incondite casualness that is both irritating and destructive of fundamental stage illusion. The actor is the play's prime exponent: when his performance fails, the whole edifice collapses. The remedy for this situation, obviously, is to put the acting ensemble on the same professional basis as the rest of the theatre.

In general, the economic structure of these theatres is sound. They are commercial in the sense that they have to pay their own way — which, indeed, is fitting for a democratic art. But they are non-commercial in the sense that they do not operate for individual private profit. Such profit as may be made accrues to the benefit of the theatre and those who work in it, and in the end, of its audience.

For over a generation, this theatre has tapped and developed a storehouse of individual and collective dramatic talent, and built and cultivated a nationwide audience. It has buildings and equip-

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ment, some of them the finest in the country, and in the consistency and sincerity of its operations it has inspired and retained a popular good will which the theatre of business in too many places has lost forever. By whatever name it may be called, the new theatre has grown up and is ready for a better role.

Under the name of the National Theatre Conference, founded in 1925 under the first presidency of the late George Pierce Baker, the men and women who lead this theatre are informally bound together. They are a hardy and determined race, and professional to their finger tips. But through long travail at working things out for themselves without help commensurate with their ability, many have become tamed and parochial and have lost the larger vision. They need now the facility that will enable them to give the public the kind of theatre performance they know it wants and deserves. That facility is a professional staff of workers — actors, technicians, designers, whose service they can command and respect. As expressed by Maurice Gnesin, director of the Goodman Memorial Theatre in Chicago, in the October issue of the *National Theatre Conference Bulletin*, "The whole arduous process is sheer waste unless we cleave to the ultimate purpose: a professional company which will present good plays, and present them with growing expertness." The execution of this blueprint is the responsibility of these leaders and their local sponsors. They must learn to balance an emulation of their Manhattan colleagues with a greater sense of their own power, and a realization that the coming renascence is largely in their own hands.

B. Iden Payne, a pioneer in the English repertory theatre and veteran London and New York stage director, admonishes us, in an article in the *National Theatre Conference Bulletin*, "It is possible that community theatres and college drama departments may be the forerunners of a new dramatic renaissance. But in that case, they will have to take themselves more seriously." Arthur Hopkins, distinguished New York producer, writing in the *New York Times* Magazine, says, "The answer, obviously, is the community professional theatre. I believe that the next few years will see community theatres established throughout the country by municipalities, civic bodies or private groups. The nucleus for

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many of them will be found in the amateur groups which, though comparatively scarce in America thirty years ago, now number more than 250,000."

This does not imply the eclipse either of the commercial theatre or the amateur theatre. But it does envisage the emancipation of a few hundred local groups whose technical and personnel resources equip them for professional work, and who in the achievement of an improved standard will spearhead the return of our decentralized theatre life, not only in the employment of at present unrecognized talent, but also in the establishment of professional producing centers throughout the country. It will be remembered that such theatres as Antoine's Theatre Libre, the Moscow Art Theatre, the old Washington Square Players (which later became the New York Theatre Guild) and the Cleveland Play House were founded by amateurs, but that they rose to their ultimate distinction and usefulness through professional incorporation. In such incorporation the uninhibited and experienced amateur becomes expert, and attains to a deserved association with a company of theatre workers who have time and sustenance for concentration and study, prolonged rehearsal and sustained performance, leisure, health and economic security.

Norris Houghton says in his book, *Advance From Broadway*, "Nine-tenths of the talent that might create an American theatre is wasting away. This waste must be coupled to the need if we are to avert a major cultural tragedy." Well, the answer would seem to be: harness and put to work the talent that already exists. Let the nation absorb it by perfecting a chain of theatre companies. Let it not be futilely and hopelessly funneled through the narrow bottlenecks of Hollywood and Broadway. Let the artist return to his native heath and restore an affinity with normal existence. Let him practice his craft in harmony with a natural and familiar environment. Many a boy and girl thus will find at home the rightful sense of their own proportions, and a friendly road to the realization of their genius. With an average complement of fifty people in the company ensemble of these proposed resident community theatres there will be represented in the aggregate a larger population of employed theatre personnel than there is now ac-

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tively or gainfully engaged in the narrow confines of the commercial theatre. Here is a sensible and convenient method by which we can avert the waste of untapped talent and preserve it for the enrichment of an autonomous theatre.

A resident theatre is so called because it is placed in a residential section or near thereto, and because it is a fixture in the community. Unlike the transient theatre it is permanent and indigenous, and from this fact it derives much of its strength and influence. The Cleveland Play House is such a theatre, and it is cited here as a pattern for the future. What has been accomplished in Cleveland can be accomplished elsewhere. The approximate duplication of this theatre in a hundred cities will give us a new American theatre.

The Play House is a $350,000 plant housing two theatres, the gift of a generous community with aid from the Rockefeller Foundation. It conducts a ten-month season of fifteen plays at a low cost of admission to an audience of 120,000 people. It is incorporated not for profit and is officered and trusteed by a group of twenty-four representative citizens. By them, direction and management is delegated to a director and a staff engaged by him. Operating revenue is derived from the sale of season tickets and individual admissions.

From a strictly amateur beginning, the Play House in twenty-eight years has developed an all-inclusive professional ensemble of actors, directors, technicians, designers, and executive personnel, a total of some fifty people. The creative mission of producing a season of plays is done within this framework of a self-contained company, and the materials and equipment adjacent to it. The plan follows Elie Faure's definition, "The inner quality of a work is measured by the quality of the relations which unite its elements and assure continuity of its ensemble."

In the production of a play the director and producer are one, insuring singleness of control over the economics as well as the artistry of production, and avoiding that tortuous and ambagious system which prevails in the commercial theatre — where everything depends upon laborious reference to separate and sovereign agencies, each of which through collective action stipulates how

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things are to be done and upon what terms. The elimination of this confirmed confusion saves energy, time, and money.

Ownership provides pride and security for both worker and audience, and through an engendered feeling of "home" conduces to intimacy and fraternity between theatre and public. Built in a residential section where values are lower, space and beauty in the architectural plan are possible. Economy of operations and the elimination of profit permits a low admission charge; the carriage trade and the visiting fireman may share their pleasure with the common man. Seasonal operations remove gamble and risk, permit advance planning and purchase, allow for a balance between loss and gain, and above all provide for security and continuity of employment, an obvious social gain over a system of spasmodic and itinerant employment.

The core of this theatre, of any theatre, is the ensemble. The more integrated and compact the better. Some of them for many years contributed their services, later to forego what they had been proud and prone to call their "amateur status" for the greater dignity and security of a profession which they had learned to respect and love. In the future, others will follow a similar course. Apprentices both from the local vicinity and the country at large are auxiliary to the main company, and later are absorbed into it. Over one half of the Play House personnel came to it originally as apprentice students. And most of the balance came from similar channels elsewhere, graduates of community and university theatres. There are today fifteen such institutions represented in the roster of this one theatre. Graduates of such professional theatre schools as Carnegie Institute of Technology, Yale University, University of Iowa, Western Reserve University, Goodman Memorial Theatre, to mention only a few, are ready and equipped for placement in this type of community professional theatre. But a vastly greater number of such theatres are needed if the full strength of this fine talent is to be absorbed and used.

Finally, the ensemble is maturely rounded out by people from the older professional theatre, not only as occasional guest actors, directors and designers, but as permanent members of the com-

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pany. This interchange of professional personnel between the commercial and community theatre is an augury for the future unity and cooperation between them. Just as hundreds of the latter group have worked their way into the commercial theatre, so, likewise, have many experienced professional actors and directors taken up permanent residence with their younger brothers. In the extension of this circulation we will consummate the indivisibility of the American theatre.

Repertory has balance and variety. Actor, designer, director, and technician are in a single season exposed to a generous horizon of plays and parts, and after several years they attain to skill and versatility. The audience, also, obtains a broader outlook upon the richness and multiformity of dramatic writing, and the catholicity of its taste and discernment is broadened. The so-called "middle ground" play (the play which may titillate a thousand but leave a million cold) here has a chance, since in a co-ordinated season of several plays all is not won or lost in the throw of a single production. In addition to staging standard plays which have already been produced elsewhere, this theatre presents new and untried scripts. In fact, as a single producing theatre, it produces more plays in a given season than the average individual producer in the commercial theatre. It is not too much to anticipate that with the multiplication of this type of theatre throughout the land the unknown playwright, as well as the known, will find a new and welcome asylum. This new market may induce many to write for the theatre instead of the movies.

Dramatic criticism, too, should find release. In recent years it has paled for lack of something to write about. In a few communities where the theatre still prevails the art survives. But for most of the country the drama desk is seldom used, and its proprietor has taken refuge in other columns. The re-establishment of the theatre generally, will, we hope, revive a former challenge and restore an old acuity.

In the extension of this theatre plan to many centers we have an interchange of ideas and methods. Actors, designers, directors and playwrights would visit from one theatre to another. Entire productions would travel. Concurrent with touring attractions

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that come from New York or the Coast, we would have in our local theatres the opportunity to see and enjoy the work of their contemporaries in a hundred centers of the United States — a blend, so to speak, of the cosmopolitan and the provincial, an interweaving of the threads of our national theatre culture and a gallant evidence of its indivisible and invincible strength.

It may be hoped that the older theatre will recognize the validity of the new, and sanction those economic and artistic freedoms that are implicit in its origin and operation, as well as its usefulness and preservation. By so doing, it may promote harmony between them, to the end that we may have in this country a truly indivisible theatre. "Creeping professionalism" is not to be feared. Workers in the new field may find it desirable, as is their right, to act collectively, but they will best preserve the foundations of their labor if their union is designed in terms of the spirit of these freedoms, and if they recognize that just as there are fundamental differences between the decentralized theatre operating not for profit and the profit-making centralized theatre, so there must be real differences in the labor relations and technics applicable to each. In any event, the causes which justified the creation of strong national theatrical unions do not apply here, where it cannot be said, "How mean were the managers and overlords in the old days." The classic pattern for greed is gone, whether it be from capital or labor. Our new theatre is a self-contained, self-determined unit. It is not a definitive branch of a national industry. It cannot be regulated or circumscribed by predatory power.

The postwar theatre is before us. Upon the foundations already laid we can evolve a transpontine theatre culture, west of the Hudson, whereby theatre going for all will become a habit and a pleasure. The instinct for good theatre is universal. But to too many Americans it has been denied, and for causes extraneous to their want. We have in retrospect the glamor and substance of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, the Abbey and the Globe, the Vieux-Colombier and Covent Garden, Ephesus and Moscow. We may now enjoy glamor and substance anew, in the living theatre of Detroit, Chattanooga, Denver and Saint Paul.

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The Radio University in Peace and War

Eric Underwood

IT IS a commonplace that the world does not know its great men. It is equally true that it does not always know its important institutions.

As an Englishman who has traveled some 150,000 miles in all forty-eight states during a period of seven years and has visited almost every city of 50,000 inhabitants or over, I have frequently been surprised at how little Americans know of their country's history and achievements. The stars and stripes, for instance, are everywhere revered, yet how many Americans know the origin of Old Glory? How many realize that the coat of arms of the Washington family — to be seen in many places in England, among others at Durham in a fifteenth century stained glass window — consists of stars on the upper part of the shield, stripes in the lower, and an eagle with outstretched pinions for crest?

How many are aware that America, with a conservative respect for the past noteworthy in the newest of the great nations, has led the world in the preservation of historic monuments and scenic beauty? What number of them are acquainted with this work of their great countryman Stephen Tyng Mather, who planned the National Parks System, and his covetable epitaph: "There will never come an end to the good that he has done"?

Who but scholars have heard of Richard Bland, that great Virginian who as early as 1764 was the first to put forward the constitutional idea which a century or so later was adopted as its

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basis by the British Commonwealth of Nations? And so one might go on through a long line of all too little-known names of American contributors to the world's civilization.

As for American institutions, an Englishman, a distinguished member of the British Broadcasting Corporation, was reported as expressing at a public dinner recently his hope that there might some day be a World Radio University devoted wholly to the raising of educational standards and the disinterested dissemination of liberal knowledge among all peoples. No American had told him there was already a university of the air, partly because few Americans themselves outside the State of Massachusetts know of its existence, partly because (despite foreign opinion to the contrary) the Americans are a very modest people. It is safe to say that America is the last country in which an Englishman would have looked for the first World Radio University. In England there is no radio advertising; broadcasting is a government-controlled monopoly devoted solely to the instruction and entertainment of the people and paid for by a small tax (two dollars a year) on individuals possessing a receiving set. The English, indeed, have inclined to be supercilious about broadcasting in America, that country of vast wealth and unimpeded individualism — which apparently could not exclude the profit motive and commercial competition even from its radio services.

Yet it is in America that you have the first radio station, WRUL in Boston, devoted exclusively to educational programs and supported wholly by the voluntary contributions of public-spirited people. Next year will see the tenth anniversary of this institution, which through its three 50,000 watt transmitters has been sending out educational programs to all the world without so much as a line of advertising.

The World Radio University was set up in 1935 by the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation, a corporation operating not for profit but for the benefit of humanity, whose objects, as stated in the preamble to its charter, are:

> To foster, cultivate and encourage the spirit of international understanding and to promote the enlightenment of individuals throughout the world . . . to develop, produce and broadcast programs of a cul-

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tural, educational, artistic and spiritual nature, and to arrange for the interchange of constructive radio programs throughout the world . . . to study, develop and disseminate radio programs which will enhance the cultivation of spiritual values, and tend to promote the growth of individual character.

Aiming at the development of character as well as the training of the intellect, the Foundation's ideal of education is entirely in accord with Ruskin's famous definition "The leading of human souls to what is best, and making what is best out of them." Utilitarian studies, however, are not excluded, for the curriculum has taken in modern languages and practical science as instruments of world understanding.

The germ of the World Radio University was conceived, appropriately enough, in an international atmosphere. Just a quarter of a century ago at the Paris Peace Conference, a young American radio inventor, Walter S. Lemmon, was acting as a scientific aide to President Woodrow Wilson. It was brought home to Mr. Lemmon, as to so many others who followed day by day those tedious conversations with their interminable repetitions in translation, that the means of communication between foreign peoples were utterly inadequate, and that something revolutionary would have to be devised if nations were ever to be brought together in mutual understanding.

Nor was it simply a matter of idiom. The traditions, ways of life, political outlook and ideals of the various races, were so diverse as to make them unintelligible one to the other without long study or intimate contact. Countries, in the ordinary way, do not understand one another and have little opportunity of doing so; nor are they really interested in one another. As William Ernest Hocking has said: "Where there is no information there can be no interest, and where there is no interest there can be no opinion. . . . Ignorance of the distant taken as the normal state of man becomes an argument for complete isolationism. We can only escape this argument by setting up organs for creating public opinion and giving them time to work. It is not surprising that on most of the questions which the League evaded there was no public opinion at all."

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The exiguous number of wealthy globe-trotters who frequent foreign resorts and the diplomatic caste which meets only its opposite number in national capitals cannot under today's conditions adequately represent their countries. In modern democracies it is the people who bear the responsibility for international policy, and it is they who in the long run must decide it. To be able to influence their leaders in making wise decisions they must have a far more comprehensive knowledge of foreign affairs than they have had in the past. The peoples of the nations must somehow be brought into closer touch with one another. Travel is too costly in time and money for ninety-nine per cent of the population. Over the wireless "nation shall speak to nation."

On his way back from Paris, Mr. Lemmon told President Wilson of his idea of an international university of the air by means of radio to bring peoples together in common understanding and friendship. Broadcasting at that time was in a primitive stage, but the young and imaginative inventor foresaw its illimitable possibilities: it would be a matter of only a few years before there would be effective transmission and receiving apparatus in every country of the world — a radio set in every house. A student could learn over the air in a few months what would take as many years through the older media of school and college courses or the study of books. Especially could you reach the adults who had long since forgotten the lessons of their youth, and the vast number of people who live in remote places — isolated farms, mining camps or distant islands far from college campuses and city institutes.

As a former university president, Woodrow Wilson at once realized the potentialities of the idea and promised to work on it with Mr. Lemmon; by it he would be able to bring home the idea of the League of Nations to the untutored electorate more rapidly and more inspiringly than by written articles or newspaper reports of speeches. *Dis aliter visum.* Before plans could be developed Wilson was down and out, and it was not for many years that Mr. Lemmon was in a position to find the necessary financial support and active collaboration for the World Radio University. Among the collaborators were public-spirited men and women

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who gave their time and experience to the administrative work, and professors who contributed their lectures and advice without fee or salary. The lectures were sent out in day and evening courses not only to the United States, but to more than thirty foreign countries.

Among the subjects of instruction were: law, history, literature, languages, music, science and the fine arts. Modern languages included French, Spanish and Portuguese, and special attention was given to Basic English, which had a very large following in Latin America. In practical science radio technique and the elements of aviation were especially popular.

Besides these courses there were good-will programs designed to bring peoples of different countries more closely together, travel talks and discussions of world affairs. Church services were broadcast to the English-speaking audiences — among others, from Trinity Episcopal Church, Boston, the Harvard non-sectarian Memorial Church, and the First Church of Christ Scientist of Boston. A few of the better-known lecturers were Dr. G. H. Edgell, Director of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Dr. Harlow Shapley, Professor William Yandell Elliott, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, Professor Henry W. Holmes, Professor André Morize, Professor Rufus Matthew Jones, Professor John Scammell. Other speakers, to name but a few, have been Wendell Willkie, Hon. Henry A. Wallace, Hon. John W. Davis, Senator Joseph H. Ball, Hon. Jan Masaryk, Hendrik Willem van Loon, John Foster Dulles, Hon. Walter Nash, Hon. John W. Fulbright, Raymond Gram Swing, Charles F. Kettering, Governor H. H. Lehman, Hon. A. A. Berle, Thomas J. Watson, Clarence K. Streit and Ely Culbertson.

Many of America's leading educational institutions lent their assistance. Harvard, for instance, cooperated by preparing courses in international law, Massachusetts Institute of Technology in physics, Tufts in philology, Boston University in humane letters. In the year of the Harvard Tercentenary celebrations the World Radio University was able to reciprocate Harvard's generosity by devoting no less than forty-five hours of broadcasting time in relaying to the world the official lectures

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delivered on that historic occasion by such famous scholars as Sir Arthur Eddington and Dr. Jung.

It has been said that the broadcast cannot displace the teacher, and this in some respects is true. But the broadcast is a part of the teacher. Questions in a lecture room are usually permitted only at the conclusion of the lecture. The listener-student of the air writes his questions and receives answers by mail. In the same way he submits his examination papers and has them returned to him corrected. If the questions are of general interest they are dealt with comprehensively in subsequent broadcasts. Schedules are sent out with recommended books for study.

Not many lecture halls can accommodate a thousand students; few amphitheatres hold more than five thousand, but the World Radio University, which provides a liberal college course for a man at his own fireside, can have an audience of millions of listeners in all parts of the world.

The World Radio University was getting into its stride when war broke out in 1939. The submarine campaign soon paralyzed international correspondence, and large numbers of students in foreign lands found themselves engaged in work of mutual destruction instead of mutual understanding. The University's philanthropic and imaginative directorate, long before America came into the war as a belligerent, placed their organization at the service of the cause of liberty. This is something which vast numbers of citizens of the United Nations will never forget, and it is a contribution towards the winning of the war as valuable as that of many famous military commanders or the outcome of hotly-contested battles.

Napoleon said (and none had greater authority in saying it): "In this world there are two forces: the sword and the spirit. The spirit has always conquered the sword." This is a pregnant truth which most of us, including even those in high positions of leadership, are disposed too often to overlook. The World Radio University did not. They at once turned the ether into a potent weapon for morale building. As the ill-fated little countries of Europe went down one by one under the treacherous Nazi onslaught, the University made it its business to broadcast messages

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of aid and comfort to their unfortunate citizens. Night and day over the air from the great republic of the West came heartening words of encouragement. Harvard University gave the use of practically its entire staff of modern language professors to increase the scope of these broadcasts, no less than twenty-four languages being used to keep alive the spark of resistance within the Nazi-besieged fortress. This work received its highest tribute in the form of a testimonial from Goebbels himself who, denouncing WRUL by name, poured scorn on "this American meddler in the Fuehrer's new order."

Again, a little later, when refugee children from England arrived in America, WRUL sent out the broadcasts in which parents and their young sons and daughters greeted one another across the Atlantic.

Aside from this all-important work of morale building, the University was able to intervene with striking effect on at least two occasions in political ventures which had military consequences of far-reaching importance. Many authorities think that when Hitler invaded Norway he had other motives than merely taking possession of that country. Winston Churchill at the time characterized the seizure as one of the strategic blunders of history. But Hitler knew well what he was doing. He wanted the Norwegian merchant fleet — the fourth largest in the world — with nearly a thousand ships. England was all but defeated in 1917 by the German submarine campaign; she was likely to be hard put to it in the second World War for bottoms to carry essential food and vital gasoline (half the gasoline shipped to England during the battle for Britain was carried in Norwegian tankers) and at times she had in her larder only sufficient food to last a few weeks.

As soon as he had possession of Norway Hitler forced Norwegian ship owners to make recordings in their own voices ordering the masters of their vessels to bring them back to Nazi-held ports. These recordings were broadcast from the great German short wave station outside Berlin, and were beginning to take effect when the World Radio University authorities and the Norwegian ambassador in Washington got hurriedly together and

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decided to endeavor to counteract the Nazi orders. Before the war WRUL had sent out Norwegian programs to which crews of these ships had been accustomed to listen; the voices of the announcers were, therefore, known to them. Quickly and for some hours on end WRUL sent out Norwegian broadcasts telling the captains, wherever they might be on the world's oceans, the true state of affairs, and ordering them to report to Allied harbors. Not one vessel of the huge Norwegian fleet was lost to the Allies.

Another service of inestimable value was rendered by the World Radio University at the moment that Jugoslavia was about to fall into the German maw. It will be recalled that Hitler had all but completed a deal with the weak-minded Prince Regent Paul by which the triple kingdom was to be betrayed to the Nazis. When negotiations were reaching their climax WRUL sent out broadcasts four or five times a day, urging the Jugoslav people to resist. It is on record in the State Department archives that these broadcasts had a material effect in so rousing the patriotic ardor of the people that they threw out their government and took up arms against the Nazi invaders. Ultimately, as we know, Jugoslavia was overrun, but the heroic resistance of her people threw Hitler's program out of gear. His attack on Russia was delayed by six weeks, at a time when every moment counted. Later in the year the German hordes advanced to within a few miles of Leningrad and Moscow, but they were too late; the bad weather set in and caused active operations to be delayed till the following season, by which time Russia was able to reinforce her manpower and her supplies on a sufficient scale to meet the menace.

After Pearl Harbor and the setting up of the Office of War Information, WRUL was placed at the disposal of the United States Government, which has since used it nearly twenty-four hours a day as the American official mouthpiece to Europe. A little broadcasting time, however, is still retained by the World Radio University for unofficial purposes. On the short wave, broadcasts in English are given daily and are heard mainly by listeners in Britain, a feature of the series being informal talks to promote understanding between the American and British peoples. Over the long wave, a series of lectures entitled "Beyond

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Victory" is sent out weekly from about one hundred stations covering the United States. Its aim is to educate people in international affairs, and more particularly on the problems of peace-making and peace-keeping. This series is presented in collaboration with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

How is the work of this university of the air financed? In much the same way as with universities whose campuses are on *terra firma*. Universities derive their income from endowments and from tuition dues paid by their students. The World Radio University has so far no invested endowment. But from time to time it has received additions to its income in the form of substantial grants from a few large charitable foundations and occasionally gifts from wealthy philanthropists. In addition it has had the support of a considerable number of small donors, in the form of annual sums of two dollars and upward. These annual donors are loosely organized as the "World Wide Listeners' League." Their donations correspond, in fact, to the students' tuition dues of the ordinary university, except that the amount of the fee paid is optional. Members of the League receive certain privileges. Among these is a year's subscription to the University's official organ, "The World Wide Listener," a popular magazine of international affairs in digest form, which reprints the substance of some of the more important broadcasts sent out by WRUL and contains articles by well-known writers, guidance for further study to follow up the broadcasts, character sketches of world personalities, book reviews and competitions on international affairs.

There seems no reason why membership of the Listeners' League should not be extended on a wide scale. When the work of the University was being actively carried on before the war it must have had many millions of listener-students in all parts of the world: it has letters in its files from residents in more than fifty countries. A business which has a large number of small customers is usually based on a broader and sounder foundation than one which has to rely on the capricious patronage of a few wealthy individuals. It also has greater liberty. The World Wide Listeners' League could ultimately grow into a large cooperative

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association with local study groups and national branches in all countries, a sodality of liberal, world-minded students interested in promoting international understanding.

Two other courses of action which might materially aid the work of the World Radio University come to mind: the founding of memorial professorial chairs, and the publishing of books by a World Radio University Press. Its own press is usually a later development in any university, but it is worthy of note that the British Broadcasting Corporation each year shows a handsome profit on the books it publishes and sells largely over the air.

For the work which may lie ahead of the World Wide University when peace comes, it will need all the resources it can command. An entire generation of young men and women of university age has been absorbed in the war and will be too old on its return to civil life to take up full-time education. Millions of others, older people, have been occupied in the fighting forces or in the production of war supplies. The Nazis have torn down educational institutions throughout Europe, not excepting their own country. And there are the false lessons which have to be unlearned.

The services of the World Radio University will surely be in greater demand than ever. Men and women who have passed through the unspeakable horrors of war, deprived for years of the consolation of culture, will turn to it as a faithful mentor for counsel and help, for inspiration and knowledge and for the answers to all but insoluble problems we shall then have to face. The world will need as never before the highest qualities of courage, intelligence and wisdom, which derive in no small degree from liberal and humane studies.

America has long led the world in its enthusiastic belief in the importance of education. In no other country does so high a proportion of the population, both men and women, receive the advantage of attendance at courses of higher learning. It is natural, therefore, that the rest of the world should look to America for leadership in this field of human activity. The World Radio University has an unrivalled opportunity to show the world that there is another America besides the one which Holly-

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wood depicts on the films; under imaginative direction, with effective organization and adequate resources it can raise for America an inexhaustible reservoir of good will among all nations in the years to come.

A poor Frenchman, writing to WRUL after listening at the risk of his life to its broadcasts, said that he had "come to look out for their messages of *sursum corda* with almost as great alacrity as for his daily bread."

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The Changing Picture of Heredity

Caryl P. Haskins

LIKE most branches of knowledge and of research, the science of genetics has had a long and a slow growth. Step by step it has been brought from the realm of conjecture to that of verifiable fact, and although the road ahead is still long, the pace has accelerated markedly in recent years. As early as 1760, Joseph Kölreuter was exploring the genetics of plant breeding. Sixty years later Goss and Knight and others were actively expanding his results. Within another forty years Naudin in France undertook to systematize all the known work in plant breeding, and his conclusions narrowly missed the mark of lasting significance. But it was left to Gregor Mendel, thoroughly familiar with the work of Naudin and of all the knowledge upon which the Frenchmen built, to bring the study of genetics from its alchemical realm to that of a true science, and to mark its first great milestone of fundamental advance.

Gregor Johann Mendel, born of peasant parents in Austrian Silesia in 1822, entered the Königinkloster in Altbrünn in 1843, was ordained a priest in 1847, and studied natural science in Vienna from 1851 to 1853. Thence he returned to Brünn, versed in the mathematics and the natural science of the day, and took up his teaching in the cloister at the Realschule as an instructor in the physical and natural sciences. There at Brünn he soon plunged into genetics research, at first merely as an avocation.

Initially, Mendel set to work to repeat the plant breeding experiments of Kölreuter and Knight and Goss, but with one significant difference. Trained in mathematics as he was, and accustomed to dealing with clean-cut numerical quantities, he

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laid great emphasis upon recording the inheritance of the simplest observable features of the pea plants with which he worked: the transmission of rough or smooth seeds, yellow or green seed-coat coloration, shortness or tallness of growth. Earlier workers had dealt with a complex of characteristics. Mendel observed, as had Naudin and his predecessors, that the first-generation hybrids between parents differing in these characters were intermediate between them. But he also noticed that the offspring were intermediate, because in each of the specific characteristics which he observed the traits of one parent had disappeared and had been replaced by the corresponding characters of the other. Mendel further observed that, when the hybrid generation was crossed within itself, all the characters that he was studying reappeared in the following generation undiminished in expression. Furthermore, the statistical distribution of each trait among the progeny was such as could be accounted for by assuming that each of the characters resulted from a discrete "something" which was assorted independently in the germ-plasm, and that was either wholly expressed or wholly suppressed in combination with its partner from the other parent. The name of *unit-character* or *unit-factor* was given to these hypothetical agents, and they were soon to become, as they have since remained, the "atoms" of genetics. Those characters which persisted in crosses Mendel called "dominant"; to the disappearing ones he gave the name "recessive."

Eleven years after he had begun his work and three years after the major publication of Naudin, Mendel embodied his experimental results and his interpretation of them in a paper now memorable, though ignored at the time, entitled "Versuche über Pflanzenhybriden," contributed to the publication of the Society of Naturalists of Brünn. It was hardly to be noticed for thirty years. But the goal had been achieved. Genetics had become a science, dealing, like other sciences, with phenomena governed by quantitatively expressible "laws." Yet *Verhandlungen des Naturforschenden in Brünn, Abhandlung IV* gathered thick dust, unheeded, through the decades.

In the meantime other investigations were being pushed for-

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ward and other conclusions were being reached in the field of cytology, the study of the details of the structure of single cells. The fact that individual cells of both plants and animals consist of two principal components, the nucleus and the cytoplasm, had been discovered in 1831 by Robert Brown. It was realized very early that the nucleus of a cell played a particularly vital part in its economy, and about 1870 Anton Schneider and his associates — Flemming, Bütschli, and others — discovered within this nucleus certain peculiar bodies. They varied in shape and in size, but were characterized by a tendency to stain deeply with certain basic dyes. Much later it was found that they also had a high absorption coefficient for ultraviolet light, and so could be distinguished as outline shadows in microphotographs taken with illumination of these wave lengths. Because of their peculiar affinity for special stains, Waldeyer in 1888 christened the newly discovered bodies *chromosomes*. Certain interesting things were soon discovered about them. In particular, the fact (determined by the work of Flemming, Bütschli, Strasburger, and others in the seventies) that their number was constant in all the body cells of any given species of plant or animal was to be of profound significance. Then in 1883 Boveri found that in the nucleus of a germinal cell (of an egg or sperm cell in an animal or of an ovule or pollen grain in a plant) there was only half the number of chromosomes normal to a body cell of the same type, which number was made up to the full complement of the species upon fertilization of the egg. Before the time of Kölreuter ideas had been current that both the egg and the sperm or pollen contributed to the hereditary material of an animal or plant, and Mendel had demonstrated that the contribution was a quantitative one. What was more natural than to characterize the chromosomes as the physical bearers of the units of heredity? The substantiation and the elaboration of this idea were to be the work of the first half of the twentieth century.

In 1900 Hugo De Vries of Amsterdam, Correns in Germany, Tschermak in Austria, and their co-workers, undertook to repeat the experiments of Mendel, having rediscovered his original paper, which was published in translation in the *Journal* of the

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Royal Horticultural Society of England in 1901. They soon fully confirmed and further extended the earlier conclusions. It was only a little later that genetics research found a medium which had certain unparalleled advantages and through which some of the most striking modern advances have been made possible. This was the small fruit fly, *Drosophila melanogaster*, and some related species. Following the discovery about 1910 of the original "white-eye" mutation, which proved to be a simple recessive, a most careful genetic study of *Drosophila* as a whole was undertaken, and it was soon possible to identify further variant characters, the inheritance of which was similarly explicable in a Mendelian sense. Gradually a school grew up which took for its principal duty the discovery and the quantitative analysis of the behavior of these characters. To it much of our knowledge of modern genetics is due.

Perhaps the greatest discovery of this period was made by Korjinksy and by De Vries. Inheritance had up to this time been thought of as an invariant and immutable phenomenon. But De Vries, in the course of a careful and detailed study of the evening primrose, was able to detect large-scale and wholly discontinuous variations in the heredity of certain pure lines, which were in no way connected with hybridization. Here, it seemed, variations in inheritance had been demonstrated which were due to actual changes in the unit-factors of heredity themselves, a fundamentally new concept. De Vries gave to this phenomenon of discontinuous variation the name *mutation*, and he stated: "As the theory of mutation I designate the statement that the properties of organisms are built from sharply distinct units. . . . Intergrades, which are so numerous between the external forms of plants and animals, exist between these units no more than between the molecules of chemistry." These seem, indeed, to be the units which we have learned to designate as genes, and De Vries had been witness to their transmutation.

As much as the picture of heredity has advanced from its earlier stage, it still presented important lacunae. If the genes were located in the chromosomes, what were their positions in those bodies, and how were they attached? What was the fine

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structure of the chromosome itself? What was the real nature of the gene, what its size, and what its chemical constitution? Finally and most fundamentally, by what mechanisms did it achieve its final result — the red eye in *Drosophila*, the spotted coat in Dalmatian dogs, the blonde hair or the blue eye in man? The search for solutions to these questions has occupied the central field of genetics to this day.

Research on the phenomenon known as "linkage" of genes did much to shed light on the manner in which the units of heredity are arranged in the chromosomes. As genetic analysis advanced it became increasingly clear that many sets of characters in various animals and plants were normally inherited only in groups, instead of at random, as the original theory of Mendel would have predicted. As more and more characters were identified it became certain that in a number of the best known organisms the maximum number of linkage groups discovered corresponded exactly to the cytologically known number of chromosomes for those organisms. No case has been discovered in which the number of such groups is greater than the number of chromosomes in the germ cell. This is powerful evidence that all the genes of a given linkage group lie within the same chromosome.

Once a set of linkage groups had been satisfactorily established, it was possible to examine more closely the behavior of each group in inheritance. It was soon found that in certain cases linkage groups might be broken in transmission at particular points, so that although certain characters were still unchanged in expression they were now inherited in association with a new group of factors. Cytological examination of cells from animals and plants in which this sort of "crossing-over" had taken place revealed the fact that two neighboring chromosomes had become entangled and had actually exchanged halves. After intensive examination of many thousands of such cases and of other types of chromosome abnormalities, Muller, Painter, Dobzhansky, Stern, and others were able to demonstrate that the genes behave as though they are strung in a fixed linear order on a hypothetical thread within the chromosome. The evident next step was to build up diagrammatic chromosome maps representing the rela-

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tive positions of all the known genes in each chromosome for a given organism, the distances between the genes being given in terms of the relative frequency with which crossovers were found to occur between each. Various errors were inherent in this method, yet such maps have proved as good approximations to reality as many structural formulae of organic chemistry.

Experimental cytologists, in the meantime, were hard at work to confirm or to disprove by direct observation the ideas deduced from considerations of linkage. Through highly refined methods in the fixing and staining of their material, microscopists were able to demonstrate in the early 1930's that the rather indefinite, sausage-like or string-like form of the chromosome, which in times gone by had passed for its ultimate constitution, was in fact only its very coarse structure. Within the irregular envelope was found a very regular, delicately coiled, helical thread, which under certain conditions stained more deeply than the rest of the chromosome material, even as this in turn stained more deeply than the surrounding nucleus. To this thread was given the name of *chromonema*. It seemed altogether reasonable to suppose that it was the actual thread along which statistical evidence of linkage and of crossing-over indicated that the genes should be strung.

Then, just as this search was at its most exciting phase, a still more exciting discovery was made. It was found that in the nuclei of certain cells of the salivary glands of the fruit fly larva the chromosomes were many fold larger than those in the rest of the body. This situation afforded an unparalleled opportunity to examine the chromosomes in the finest microscopic and microchemical detail. Special staining methods were used, and it was found that the chromosomes exhibited localized bands of deeply colored material, with lighter areas between. In many cases close correspondence was found between regions on the map where certain genes ought to occur and distinctively colored areas upon the photographs. Did these areas include genetically active material? By experimental techniques it has been possible to demonstrate that in certain cases this is essentially true. The determinants of Mendel, then, in a sense had been captured on a slide!

In the meantime, evidence concerning the physical nature of

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the gene had been accumulating from entirely different sources. Mavor and many others had shown that X-rays might greatly increase the frequency with which various chromosome abnormalities occurred. In 1927 and thereafter, H. J. Muller and his associates, in a peculiarly brilliant program of work, demonstrated that actual gene mutations in the true sense of De Vries can be greatly stepped up in frequency by exposing the germ cells to X-rays, as well as to various chemical agents and perhaps to heat. One of the results of this work was that geneticists were now given access to an experimentally controllable rate of mutation sufficiently high to be dealt with mathematically. Through straightforward statistical methods, it was possible to deduce a figure for the "size" of the region involved in a mutation, which had much the same relation to reality as the chromosome map. This work indicated that the gene ought to be approximately the size of an organic megamolecule, such as that, perhaps, of a "unit" of a virus. Such a gene would fit well into the estimated thickness of a chromonema if it were to be strung along it. Various elements of the picture were beginning to converge.

A detailed chemical and physical examination of the chromosome and of the gene was needed to explore the matter further, and research of this kind is particularly active today. Certain physical and chemical characteristics of the chromosome as a whole indicate that it may consist of alternating regions of a protein and a nucleic acid, the latter being relatively inert in its genetic action. Various chemical structures are possible, but one of the likeliest pictures is that the thread may consist of a chemical chain depending for its coherence on the so-called peptide linkage — carbon-to-carbon-to-nitrogen — and rich in that class of nuclear compounds, desoxyribose nucleoprotein. Such a thread would be free to expand or to contract or to coil, as the chromosomes are seen to do at different stages of the life cycle of the cell. Extensive microchemical research has suggested that, when the cell is ready to divide, the genes may attach to themselves columns of nucleotides of thymonucleic acid which come to lie parallel with the polypeptide fibres. The nucleotide fibres appear to lie at exactly the same spacing as the atoms of the peptide

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chain, apparently between twelve- and sixteen-billionths of an inch. This property may explain in some measure the reduplication of chromatin material at cell division — the manner by which the world is filled with plants or animals of a given kind. Usually this reduplication itself governs the mechanics of cell division, or is closely synchronized with it. When the synchronization "fails," chromantin accumulates and giant chromosomes are formed, as in the case of cells of the salivary glands of the fruit fly.

We are now at the very frontiers of genetics research, and the answer to the question of the final chemical constitution of the chromosome and of the gene and of their interrelationship is fragmentary and tentative. Closely linked with this problem is our final one. How does the gene produce its end result?

It is highly probable that no single answer will be found to this query. The agglutination groups of human blood and of the blood of various animals have been shown by Haldane to be apparently simply related to genic action. So direct and quantitative is this correspondence that it is tempting to suppose that a true chemical relationship exists. An even more striking case, in which a rather immediate genic action is forcibly suggested, has been reported by Gordon and Sang. The gene mutation "antennaless" in the fruit fly normally leads to complete suppression of the "feelers" in the imago. But if the developing larvae of "antennaless" stock are well supplied with vitamin B_2, perfectly normal antennae are evolved by the adults. In this case, therefore, the end product of the action of a gene has been "substituted" by a well-known vitamin.

Such situations may indicate that few and relatively simple steps chemically connect genes and their end products. In the great majority of cases, however, it is more probable that the gene functions as a sort of chemical "switch" to determine which of two or more processes may occur in the complicated metabolic life of an organism. Lawrence and Price, in recent and striking work, have been able to show quantitatively the order in which a series of genes operates in "engineering" the chemical formation of certain flower pigments. Similarly Haldane, the Robinsons,

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Scott-Moncrieff, and their collaborators have determined that no less than eighteen genes are required for the development of normal pigment in Indian corn. Such suggestive cases could be multiplied many fold. We should perhaps look upon the gene generally as a peculiarly potent and self-reproducing catalyst, whose effect upon the development of the organism may be great or small, profound or superficial. It is unlikely that the variations in the chemical constitutions of all the genes in the world, or of their primary products, approach in extent the wealth of variation exhibited by the plants and animals of the earth. It is rather to the endless permutations of these primary gene products and their numberless secondary and higher chemical derivatives that the diversity of life as we know it is due.

It is not impossible that the nature and the action of a virus and of a gene are somewhat similar, notwithstanding known significant differences in their respective chemical constitutions. At the other end of the scale, the probable intimate relation between genes and their by-products and embryonic organizers should not be overlooked, for the whole complex of activity by which a formless egg is faithfully brought to the highly specific and characteristic pattern of the adult of its particular species forms an evident bridge for genic action, through the medium of higher derivatives of chemical agents originally genically produced.

In analyzing the fundamental mechanism of the action of the gene we shall surely be confronted with an immense number of special and tremendously complex chemical situations, the unraveling of which will take many years of research. But geneticists can derive encouragement and legitimate pride from the fact that they stand closer today then ever before to a real understanding of the true nature of the gene and of its performance. We may anticipate that the postwar years can bring some of the most exciting and most suggestive advances in our understanding of how the life of our earth was born and took its evolution.

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Footprints on the Sands of Time: *The Dictionary of American Biography*

Ruth and Edward Brecher

EIGHTEEN years ago the American Council of Learned Societies started off on a man hunt: its quarry the 15,000 or more Americans who through the centuries have contributed most to our national life and culture. So far, 14,285 of those sought have been rounded up; and accounts of their lives — alphabetically arranged from Abbe, Cleveland to Zunser, Eliakum — have been published in the first twenty-one volumes of the Council's monumental *Dictionary of American Biography*.

Critics have called the *D.A.B.* "a pageant of America," "a mighty work of scholarship," and "the master key to our country's past." Ordinary readers, thumbing the *D.A.B.* to learn when Francis Scott Key wrote *The Star-Spangled Banner* or where Calvin Coolidge took the presidential oath, have been amazed to find in it not merely dry-as-dust facts, but also adventure stories to rival the best concocted by Hollywood, and tragedies as ennobling as those of Nathaniel Hawthorne.

In the *D.A.B.* you will find, of course, Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Wilson — the only five for whom the editors broke their rule against biographies longer than 10,000 words. But it is the lesser figures which give the *D.A.B.* the quality of an American saga: men like Crispus Attucks, the swarthy giant who was the first to fall before the redcoats in the Boston Massacre; Seth Green, who "as a boy exhibited a preoccupation with unprofitable wanderings in the woods and a

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confirmed addiction to fishing," and who later turned his youthful fishing experience to good use by transporting shad alive from their native Atlantic waters to the Pacific, where they now wax even larger than their Atlantic forebears; Howard Taylor Ricketts, who discovered the organisms (now classed under the name "Rickettsia" in his honor) which cause Rocky Mountain spotted fever and typhus, proved that they are transmitted by ticks and lice, and died while still in his thirties, a martyr to one of the diseases he was studying; Moses Farmer, who illuminated his parlor with electric lights in 1859, two decades before the laboratory experiments of Thomas Edison; and François Prévost, an early nineteenth-century Louisiana physician memorable for his obstetrical skill. Prévost, a simple country doctor in a remote Louisiana parish, astonished medical authorities by delivering babies safely through Caesarean operations. Says the *D.A.B.*: "Alone, in a Negro cabin dimly lit by a candle or an oil lamp, assisted only by a slave woman, without anesthesia, without asepsis, without modern instruments to control hemorrhage . . . he saved seven out of eight lives by an operation which had been condemned in the greatest hospitals in the world." Prévost's patients were slaves; and as his only fee he exacted a promise from each slave's owner that if the operation were successful, both mother and child should go free.

By such men and women, America was fashioned. There is the story of John A. Brashear, a man who loved the stars. As a child, John Brashear had been shown one sight which he never forgot — a view of the starry heavens through a telescope. Years later, when he was working long hours in the steel mills of Pittsburgh, he still cherished one high ambition, to own a telescope of his own. Too poor to buy one, he acquired a five-inch piece of glass and a book of instructions, and set to work. Every night for three long years, after his exhausting days at the mill, Brashear ground and polished at his lens. Then one night it was ready. Mounting it in an improvised frame, Brashear aimed the homemade instrument through an open window and saw again, with the intimacy of his first view, the stars and planets in their courses.

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Dr. Samuel Pierpont Langley was then the director of the Allegheny Observatory near Pittsburgh; he examined Brashear's lens, and gave him others to grind. Soon scientists everywhere were ordering from Brashear, for nothing more accurate than this steelworker's lenses had theretofore been known. Lenses ground by Brashear are still in use today at observatories all over the world.

Says the *D.A.B.*: "It is impossible to estimate accurately the progress in the science of astronomy due to his mechanical genius." Though his own formal education had been limited to a two-room village schoolhouse, Brashear served as a trustee of the University of Pittsburgh, and three times modestly turned down its chancellorship. He did, however, become acting head of the Allegheny Observatory; and he built there an observation room where other youngsters too poor to buy a telescope could view the heavens nightly without charge.

Not all *D.A.B.* biographies follow that traditional success-story pattern. The *D.A.B.* dragnet has caught up Lillian Russell, whose fortune lay not in her mind but in her face and figure; Tex Rickard, the boxing promoter; George Washington Gale Ferris, who invented the Ferris wheel; and Hetty Green, the female wizard of Wall Street. Though sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies (composed of such lofty organizations as the American Philosophical Association, the American Historical Association, the Medieval Academy of America, the History of Science Society, and the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis), the *D.A.B.* nevertheless provides a full account of Knute Rockne, the Norwegian boy who came to America in 1893, washed windows, worked on a ferryboat, harvested, and sorted mail, until at twenty-two he had saved enough money to enter Notre Dame as a freshman. Of his subsequent career as a football coach, the *D.A.B.* says solemnly, much as if it were judiciously evaluating the achievements of a statesman, a chemist, or a poet: "Though Rockne originated little in football strategy, he brought the forward pass, the shift, the spinner plays, and the flexing-end play to a high peak of perfection. . . . His players went out in great numbers to be football coaches at colleges all

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over the country, carrying with them the splendid techniques and infectious enthusiasm of their famous coach."

Credit for suggesting the preparation of such a biographical dictionary goes chiefly to the late Professor Frederick J. Turner of Harvard. Turner's proposal was approved by the American Council of Learned Societies, and a committee was appointed to plan the work. Not all was smooth sailing. "It is now somewhat amusing to recall," say the editors, "that the committee at first found a solid obstacle to its deliberations in the fact that the treasury of the Council did not contain the $500 necessary to defray the traveling expenses of the members." Eventually $50 were raised from each of ten donors, including John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Dwight Morrow.

The editors chosen were Dr. Allen Johnson, who had just proved his competence in such mammoth undertakings by bringing to a successful conclusion the fifty-volume *Chronicles of America* for Yale University, and Dumas Malone, who became editor-in-chief following Dr. Johnson's death in 1931. An initial twenty-volume publication was planned, to be supplemented periodically by volumes covering Americans who died after the completion of the initial set. Editorial costs were estimated at $500,000.

A simple problem in arithmetic now arose. If it took months to procure $500 from a Rockefeller, a Morgan partner, and eight others, how long would it take to procure $500,000 — and from whom?

The answer came from an unexpected quarter — Adolph S. Ochs of the *New York Times*. One short letter and a fifteen-minute interview were enough. Ochs advanced the entire amount on behalf of the *Times*, and this, plus subsequent sums from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation, brought the work to completion. The publishers chosen were Charles Scribner's Sons.

Volume I appeared in 1928, Volume XX in 1936, and the first supplemental volume this year. In all, 2,601 contributors supplied the biographies which constitute the *D.A.B.*, and the list of contributors reads like a *Who's Who* of contemporary history and

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literature. Most of the biographies were written by men having special knowledge of the subjects assigned to them. James Truslow Adams, for example, wrote on various New England colonists, Hervey Allen on Poe, Carl Becker on Franklin, Carl Van Doren on Mark Twain, and Justice Felix Frankfurter on Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. The biographies of seventy geologists were written by George P. Merrill, himself a noted geologist. Merrill had spent a lifetime collecting rock and crystal specimens from all over the world; his knowledge of meteorites ("chips of other worlds") was unexcelled. Past seventy when the *D.A.B.* was launched, Merrill nevertheless plunged into the collection of facts about geologists, and kept at it until his death in 1929, while the "M" volume was being prepared. You will find his biography in its proper place, side by side with the many he contributed.

The first task of the *D.A.B.* editors was to determine whose biographies should be written. Earlier biographical collections and historical works were ransacked, card catalogues checked, obituary columns indexed; and from these sources scores of basic lists were prepared. The lists were then circulated to the experts concerned. The roll of America's foremost criminals could hardly be sent to Al Capone or the executives of Murder Incorporated; so the criminologists were called on instead. Each expert made additions to or deletions from the original rolls, and also suggested appropriate authors for each biography. The lists as thus revised were then circulated again, and amended further. As a final check, a full catalogue of the names to be included in each alphabetical volume was published in the *New York Times* months before the volume went to press, so that those whose names began with "B," for example, could be sure that none of their more illustrious ancestors were being overlooked.

Inevitably, of course, a few unintentional omissions occurred; some of these have been added in the supplementary volume. Once an industrious reviewer complained that he had looked in vain for the biography of an eminent experimental chemist named Hosford, who was responsible for basic improvements in condensed milk and baking powder and for the development of

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emergency rations not unlike the Army's present "K" ration. How, the *D.A.B.* staff asked themselves, could the many chemists who had checked the lists have forgotten Hosford? A little later, however, it was the reviewer whose face turned red; the editors were able to inform him that the chemist in question was not named Hosford but Eben Norton Horsford, and that the full story of his accomplishments was in its alphabetical place in the *D.A.B.*

While seeking to avoid oversights, the *D.A.B.* was determined also to keep out those who did not deserve inclusion. One member of a prominent New England family, for example, was found on half a dozen lists of suggested subjects. His name appeared in many histories; several articles and even a book had been written about him. A biographer was duly assigned the task of reassessing his life, but when the story came in, no facts were included sufficient to explain his fame. Another biographer was called upon, and he too flopped. Then a research worker was turned loose, and she established the fact that every article written about him, and almost every favorable reference to him, was written by someone related to him either by blood or by marriage; his greatness existed merely as a carefully nurtured family myth. You won't find him in the *D.A.B.*

Despite the scholarship of the contributors, and the care they took with their assignments, a few errors inevitably crept in — as the editors discovered when the early volumes were published. Eagle-eyed readers were quick to point out that Bronson Alcott's utopia, "Fruitlands," was not south of Boston, but northwest; and that Theodore Cooper, whom the *D.A.B.* praised unreservedly as a structural engineer, shared the responsibility for the notorious Quebec Bridge, which had collapsed ignominiously while under construction, with the loss of seventy-four lives.

Such errors were corrected on *errata* pages, and a dozen research workers were employed to check the original source of every statement made in the subsequent volumes.

To check birth dates, actual birth certificates were examined, or, if none existed, every effort was made to find family Bibles or baptismal records. College registrars were consulted to make sure

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that the *D.A.B.* would award no posthumous degrees. Dates of death were usually verified from contemporary newspapers. A newspaper statement on July 24, 1846, that the oddly named Rhode Island whale oil merchant, Preserved Fish, had died the night before, was deemed better evidence than a statement made by some biographer many years later. But even contemporary accounts had to be carefully watched. It was found, for example, that country printers occasionally forgot to change the date on their papers' mastheads when they started a new day's type-setting, so that one day's newspaper might actually carry the previous day's date.

Catholic in its tastes and all-inclusive in its scope, the *D.A.B.* sought to comprehend "all sects and sections, races, classes, and parties." Special attention was given to noteworthy Indians — to Squanto, for example, the Pawtuxet whom the Pilgrim fathers called "a spetiall instrument sent of God" to tide them over the first lean years at Plymouth. Squanto had been abducted from the North American coast by an English sea captain in 1615, and sold into slavery in Spain. He escaped in some unrecorded way to England, learned its language and ways, and after four years was returned by a trading vessel to his wilderness home — only to find his whole tribe wiped out by a plague and himself the sole survivor.

The Pilgrims landed the following year; and Squanto adopted them as his brothers. Serving as their counsellor and interpreter, he arranged a peace between Plymouth and Chief Massasoit, which was to last for fifty years. "He directed them," wrote Plymouth's Governor Bradford, "how to set their corne, wher to take fish and procure other comodities, and was also their pilott to bring them to unknowne places for their profitt, and never left them till he dyed." His last request was that the Governor pray for him, "that he might goe to the Englishmens God in heaven."

There arose during the 1920's, when the *D.A.B.* was being planned, a whole school of biographical "debunking," which made much of the fact that George Washington wore false teeth, but failed to stress his many virtues. The *D.A.B.* editors insisted

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from the beginning that their work should "avoid fulsome eulogies on the one hand, and the flippant, irresponsible tone of much modern biography on the other." You do not learn from the *D.A.B.* that George Washington wore false teeth; but you do find the equally personal, and far more significant story of how, when he was chosen Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army, he refused any pay except his actual out-of-pocket expenses through the war; and of how, after eight years of campaigning, his battlefront accounts were audited and found to balance with an error of less than one dollar.

False teeth do enter the *D.A.B.*, though in another context. In Washington's day, no way was known to anchor false teeth securely, or to restore the sagging contour of the face when the cheeks shrank in to fit the shrunken tissues of the jaw. John Allen, the *D.A.B.* explains, changed all that. He invented in the 1840's a device called "plumpers," which he attached to his dentures to fill out the shrunken parts and restore the facial contours. Allen's right to a place in the *D.A.B.* will readily be conceded by all who wear dentures today.

The alphabetical arrangement of names in the *D.A.B.*, like poverty, makes strange bedfellows; side by side with Presidents and prophets you will find bandits, brigands, buccaneers, burglars, desperadoes, gamblers, gangsters, outlaws, and pirates. Dick Canfield, for whom the game of Canfield was named, is a paradoxical example. The *D.A.B.* describes him as "a man of culture and refinement" who "cultivated well an innate good taste. He had a collection of ancient vases, bas-reliefs, and pottery; of rare Sheraton and Hepplewhite furniture; and his collection of Whistler oils, water colors, pastels, and drawings was regarded as one of the largest and best in America." Canfield's own portrait was painted by Whistler. At his death, his estate was valued at more than $1,000,000. Yet, as the *D.A.B.* points out in some astonishment, Dick Canfield was the type of wastrel for whom a sorry end is invariably predicted.

Included also are the renowned bad men of the wild and woolly West — Billy the Kid, Jesse James, Sam Bass, and Robert Dalton — as well as the more sinister Henry Plummer. A suave

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and fastidious youth, Plummer casually murdered a Californian whose wife he had found too attractive. Granted a pardon as he supposedly lay dying of tuberculosis, he promptly rose from his deathbed and entered upon a career of seduction, brawling, murder, banditry, and jail-breaking which belied his ill-health. When California got too hot for him, Plummer escaped to Washington, and covered his trail by sending back to the California newspapers a thoroughly plausible account of his having been lynched by an outraged citizenry. Then, accompanied by the wife of a Walla Walla man, he moved on to Montana, where he was elected sheriff of a southern county.

All of southern Montana during this period was being harried by a band of desperadoes operating under an unknown leader who pillaged, burned, and murdered without mercy. Within a few brief months, 102 Montanans were waylaid and robbed or murdered. Plummer, as sheriff, seemed powerless to suppress their maraudings; and so a vigilante committee was formed to end the the terror. Eventually the gang was rounded up, twenty-four of its members were put to death, and its leader finally captured. The leader of the outlaw gang was, of course, Sheriff Plummer! He was hanged in 1864, on the very gallows which, as sheriff, he had erected; but his story has echoed on down through all too many dime novels and double-feature Westerns.

America has been rich in humorists, as in villains, and so is the *D.A.B.* The humorists' very names, or pen names, have an American twang: Mark Twain (a Mississippi riverman's term for "two fathoms deep"), Abe Martin, Eli Perkins, Josh Billings, Petroleum V. Nasby and Q. K. Philander Doesticks. One of them, Bill Nye, has told how his family moved from Maine to Wisconsin, when he was a boy, to settle on "160 acres of beautiful ferns and bright young rattlesnakes," and how he attended school between Indian massacres. And there is Bill Arp, the Civil War veteran who summed up his fighting experience briefly: "I joined the Army, and succeeded in killing about as many of them as they of me."

Statesmen, authors, and men of affairs, of course, fill the bulk of the pages; but variety is the spice of the *D.A.B.* . . .

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The Revolving Bookstand

A Sheaf of Novels

Robert Penn Warren

Time Must Have a Stop, by Aldous Huxley. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944. $2.75
Freedom Road, by Howard Fast. New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1944. $2.75
Presidential Agent, by Upton Sinclair. New York: The Viking Press, 1944. $3.00
The Firing Squad, by F. C. Weiskopf. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. $2.50
Escape the Thunder, by Lonnie Coleman. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1944. $2.00
No Bright Banner, by Michael De Capite. New York: The John Day Company, 1944. $2.50
Simone, by Lion Feuchtwanger. New York: The Viking Press, 1944. $2.50
The History of Rome Hanks, by Joseph Stanley Pennell. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944. $2.75
A Walk in the Sun, by Harry Brown. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. $2.00
Lieutenant Bertram, by Bodo Uhse. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1944. $2.50
Lie Down in Darkness, by H. R. Hays. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1944. $2.50
Guerrilla, by Lord Dunsany. Indianapolis, New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1944. $2.50.

These are novels from the summer's production, and scarcely one on the list would fail to provide a pleasant afternoon in the hammock. But the hammocks have now been retired to the basement storerooms, the ink is dry on the blurbs, and the season's blossoms have fled. What do we have left?

The History of Rome Hanks comes first to hand. This book, among novels with serious pretensions, has been a reigning favorite of the season. In the context of this particular season, it has, no doubt, deserved its popularity. But on other grounds the season was a good one for *Rome Hanks*. Ten years ago this book, though its merits would have been recognized by discriminating readers, might not have been popular. The present war gives it the proper setting. Mr. Pennell (for whom the hero of the book, Lee Harrington, seems to be but a flimsy mask) sat down before his induction into the army and performed this imaginative exploration of American, and family, history. In this exploration the issues of history seem to dissolve, and we are left with the human qualities, bad and good, sorry and glorious, a deeply ironic spectacle which is remarkable for color and variety rather than for intelligibility. Wagnal, one of the narrators, says of the "gravitation of power" in which he had been involved: "My God! Me, down in Tennessee sweating in a dirty blue coat, not because I had any convictions, any hatred, or even any political ambition, but because of the vanity of a little gold braid which soon tarnished and a few yards of cloth which soon grew ragged and foul-smelling."

Written in this war and looking back to the war which for most Americans is still perhaps the Homeric age of our history, this book is primarily inspired not by issues hot from the headlines but by a sense of the dark exfoliation of a blind energy and the mystic sense of common participation in a destiny in which definitions and judgments tend to fray out into the massive compulsions of experience — and which is tragic, but at the same time satisfying. This sense of the common destiny is finally summed up in the account of the birth of the hero of the book (for in the interweavings and foreshortenings of time— which, I presume, are also to be taken as a symbolic statement of the common participa-

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ROBERT PENN WARREN, established poet and novelist, won the Shelley Memorial Award in 1942. Mr. Warren's most recent novel is *At Heaven's Gate* (1943).

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tion which transcends the particular time — the birth of the hero concludes the book): "From his great grandfather, Romulus Lycurgus Hanks (spelled variously, Hengist, Hawks, Hengs), the Roman Saxon, Lee may have got nothing. . . . But there were enough of halt, blind, lame, warped, fey, incestuous, mad, howling, ignorant ancestors to saddle the boy with a carcass and cranium full of a hundred weaknesses, doubts, fears, little quirks and troublesome tricks, thirsts, fears, hungers, obsessions — a mind dark and obtuse, melancholy and curious."

The story of the dark stream of the generations, which forms the background for the story of Lee Harrington himself, is worked out in terms of episodic flashes, fragmentary narratives and soliloquies, impressionistic glimpses, without any fundamental plan except that the ancestors of Lee Harrington are usually involved. Not a few of these episodes and narratives are beautifully rendered, especially the battle scenes from the Civil War, for when Mr. Pennell does not muck up his style with undigested Wolfe or Faulkner or the *Cosmopolitan* magazine, or with his own private brand of pseudo-poetry and self-indulgent rhetoric, he can write with great skill and energy. On these sections dealing with the story of the past the book must rest its case. For when we come to the modern story of Lee Harrington himself, we find a peculiar hodgepodge of things — not merely imitations of Wolfe's style now, but posturings of the "fury-driven" young literary man prowling among whorehouses, passages of dialogue that read like F. Scott Fitzgerald's young people, and a good deal of pretentious artiness, including some talk about Guinevere and Beatrice Portinari and some sonnets (attributed to Lee Harrington) which look like something out of Elizabeth Barrett by David Morton.

By and large, it seems probable that Mr. Pennell didn't know exactly what kind of book he wanted to write. He probably came to the job with an itch, a feeling, and not a very clear idea. No doubt many, and some of the finest, books have been begun in that way, and an idea is never any good without the feeling; but the trouble here is that Mr. Pennell never quite discovered and objectified the idea which might have been implicit in the itch, the feeling. But a writer of Mr. Pennell's obvious intelligence and power will undoubtedly learn to move from the level of feeling to the level of idea, will learn to achieve some philosophical solidity in a

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novel. (Faulkner, who is already one of his masters, could give him some pointers on this.) If Mr. Pennell does not do this, he will never be much better than he is now. And that would be a pity, for he is so very good now.

It is also probable that when Mr. Pennell came to his job, he did not know exactly how he wanted to write his book. The result is that we have, stylistically and in incidental effects, a kind of kitchen midden of the author's literary education plus some orts and shards from what was no doubt his "recreational reading" done in railway stations between trains. (No other theory would account for the Theron episodes.) But there are some sections in *Rome Hanks* which are written by Mr. Pennell himself. And in those sections, not only in style, but in atmosphere, in the voices skillfully caught, in the strokes of characterization, we find that Mr. Pennell has something of the rare creative élan. What he will do with it only time can tell.

It is natural to think of two other books in connection with *Rome Hanks*, not because they are like it but because they differ from it so crucially. These books are *Freedom Road*, by Howard Fast, and *A Walk in the Sun*, by Harry Brown.

Freedom Road, like *Rome Hanks*, is concerned with the Civil War. But Mr. Fast would have little sympathy with Mr. Pennell, who draws strength from Uncle Pinckney (who was in Pickett's charge) as well as from Rome Hanks (who wore the blue at Shiloh), and whose feeling of history involves the sense of the mysterious ironies and scarcely resolvable tensions. For Mr. Fast, in the present novel at least, paints a world as simple and clear-cut in its definitions as a game of cops-and-robbers: there is "our side" and there is "their side." One can find here none of the cross-ironies or incidental pity which can be found transcending party lines even in, for example, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. There is little room in such a world as this for interest in the deeper reaches of human character or experience. The story, unencumbered by such baggage, moves with athletic precision, for Mr. Fast knows how to pace a narrative. It is history on squad drill.

This is not to say that Mr. Fast's history is wrong. It is simply to say that his history may be lacking in some of its proper context. Some of the forces which were, I have understood, operative in the period, seem to be strangely absent from this picture of a world in which Thad Stevens is the Christian hero

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and Andrew Johnson the villain. (In fact, one is inclined to wonder how Lincoln, had he lived, would have fared in this summing-up.) We have here something like a conspiracy theory of history — events as cooked up by a group of villains sitting about the white damask and sipping their port. And in the "Afterword," in which he defends his views, Mr. Fast passes from the conspiracy theory of history to the notion of a conspiracy among all the historians. He says of the events which he relates: "Not only were the material things wiped out and people slain, but the very memory was expunged." And: "Powerful forces did not hold it to be a good thing for the American people to know that once there had been such an experiment. . . ." Apparently, the entire body of American historians have, at the behest of the "powerful forces," conspired to keep something from us. But this whole question I must leave to the specialists.

One more word about Mr. Fast. He is high-minded and in earnest, and we would not have him be otherwise. But it may be that oversimplification of our problems is not the best preparation for solving them. Or for writing novels. It tends to give us novels like *Freedom Road* or *The Clansman*, two books it is difficult to tell apart.

A Walk in the Sun, the other book which I would bracket with *Rome Hanks*, is also about war. But the war is the present war. As part of a large-scale landing operation in Italy, a detachment is sent several miles inland to occupy a farmhouse. The story concerns itself with the modest adventures on the way to the farmhouse — the deaths of several of the men, the psychological crack-up of the commanding officer, the bush-whacking of an enemy armored car. It is a highly readable, slick-as-a-Garand job, and if Mr. Brown had not written it first, somebody else would have written it with exactly the same cast of characters and in exactly the same words. In fact, it has been written before, a good many times. Only in earlier versions the shape of the helmets was like that of a wash-basin and not like that of a coal-scuttle. We know where we have heard these rhythms before: " 'That's the way it is,' said Porter. 'That's sure as hell the way it is.' " Or: " 'It's a nice country,' Rivera said. 'Full of opportunity. Just look around you. Opportunity, that's the big thing.' 'The hell with the country,' Rankin said." Or: "They couldn't take the chance of meeting more vehicles on the road. They couldn't take any

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more chances at all." And we know where we have met the tight-lipped wit of these men who have the cozy little saying among themselves, "Nobody dies."

I have put Mr. Brown's book with Mr. Pennell's book, because of this contrast: Mr. Brown is a young man who has been to the best and most fashionable school and has learned all the proper inflections, the proper reserve, the proper jokes, and the proper cut of jib. Mr. Pennell has been to the same school, but, poor fellow, he has never managed to subdue a certain gaucherie. But on second glance, we decide that the gaucherie isn't always gaucherie. It is only gaucherie, in fact, when the school imitation doesn't come off (as Mr. Brown's imitations always do). The rest of the time what at first glance looked like a failure to fit the pattern is an honest and compelling talent which has broken through the slick surface and is seeking its appropriate fulfillment. I do not want to push this contrast too hard to Mr. Brown's disfavor. For one thing, Mr. Brown is, I believe, some ten years younger than Mr. Pennell. For another thing it requires great intelligence and sensitivity and a considerable literary flair to rig a good and coherent imitation — or parody. Time will show whether Mr. Brown will become so bemused by his own quite remarkable gifts in this line that he will not be able to cultivate other, more significant, aspirations.

Lie Down in Darkness, by H. R. Hays, shows us the work of a young writer who, though as deft and impressionable as Mr. Brown, has tried to escape the curse of his endowments. Basically this story is one of suspense and horror, but the author is obviously trying to refine this old type in two ways: first, by psychological analysis, and second, by indicating social relevance. In terms of the basic type this is an expert performance, crisp and spare in style, beautifully constructed, deft in the handling of atmosphere and dialogue. It is not clear, however, that his efforts at refining the basic type have been thoroughly successful. The characters tend toward stereotypes — the aging aesthete with the mother-fixation, the unctuous clergyman, the Red-hating middle-aged woman who becomes the murderess. The moment when a stereotype is supposed to crack and show us the reality beneath (for that I take to be Mr. Hays's intended method) usually reveals more of the same material

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one sees at the surface. At the photographic level the rendering of suburban society is good, but at a deeper level the social relevance of the events is not as satisfyingly established — at least for this gentle reader — as, for instance, in *Appointment in Samarra*, by John O'Hara, which stands not too far in the shadows behind this novel. But Mr. Hays has apparently set himself a problem which is his own problem and not a second-hand one, and there is no reason to think that a man of his obvious capacities will not, with grace, be able to solve it. Meanwhile he will no doubt provide us with other books as entertaining as this.

We sense the kind of meaning Mr. Hays is struggling toward in his novel, but I am not sure that I can say the same thing about *Escape the Thunder*, by Lonnie Coleman, a tale about the bad Negro tough, the good simple Negro framed and sent to the pen, and the girl they compete for. There is no question that Mr. Coleman has turned in an unusually interesting and well-narrated story (well-narrated in the handbook sense, anyway), and this performance is a highly commendable one for a writer twenty-three years old. The trouble is, though perhaps it is graceless to mention it at this stage of the game, that one can't make out exactly what the author's basic view of things is. On this matter we have an instructive contrast with *Freedom Road*, in which the focus of "meaning" is sharpened to a point of arbitrary exclusion, to mere thesis, or even with *No Bright Banner*, by Michael De Capite, in which at times argument undertakes to do the work of perception.

Mr. De Capite already has one excellent novel to his credit, *Maria*. This second novel deals with the same general background. The hero, the son of an Italian immigrant, grows up in the mill section of Cleveland; goes to college, where he becomes a radical; moves for a time in Bohemian circles of New York; hits the road during the depression; becomes a newspaperman in Chicago; and as the war begins, is ready to define his role in it — and his relation to America and the future. In the larger sense, this book has the same motivation as *Rome Hanks*: it is a book of soul-and-history searching in the face of the war.

Some sections of *No Bright Banner* are very good indeed, as warm and vivid as the best of *Maria*. This is especially true of the parts which deal with the family; but a good deal of the material, college and Bohemian life in particular, seems not to be digested, not to

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be grasped imaginatively. This is a more ambitious book than *Maria*. Mr. De Capite is struggling to get into it a range of meaning not possible to a book like the earlier one, and there are signs of strain. But despite the considerable unevenness, I am inclined to feel that the author has no great reason to be unhappy about the result. He has made gains and has even consolidated some of them.

Naturally, we look for gains in the new work of new writers, but we are also entitled to look for gains in the work of old writers, gains not as obvious or spectacular perhaps, but gains in the way of a broadening or deepening or refining. When we open *Time Must Have a Stop*, by Aldous Huxley, who is now an old writer, we do not find the gains. And it is distressing to report this of a book in which the theme, in one aspect at least, is this: "He that is not getting better is getting worse." It is true, and well known, that Mr. Huxley's views have changed from the days when he was a bright new writer. But those views which have changed are what we might call the official views — and the official, proclaimed view of a writer may bear as little relationship to the reality of his work as the official view proclaimed by chancellor or prime minister may bear to the forces operative within his nation. Mr. Huxley's views have changed, but his fiction has changed astonishingly little — the feel of the work is the feel of the work twenty years ago. And the characters are the same. Sebastian, the hero of *Time Must Have a Stop*, finds redemption and ends up keeping notebooks which read like the minutes of an ethical culture society, but he is not vastly different from the hero of *These Barren Leaves*; again, Mrs. Thwale, except for the new detail of a slight odor of musk associated with her person, is simply the man-eating Lucy of *Point Counter Point*. And so with all the others, who so neatly execute the steps of the allegorical quadrille with their labels neatly pinned on their coattails. But I am not quarreling with Mr. Huxley because of the kind of novel he writes — the novel which is primarily a clash of opinions and ideas, and in which character, though reported with great clinical detail, is conceived as the carrier of idea. For Mr. Huxley's kind of novel has its own proper range of virtues. What I am quarreling about is that he has long since fulfilled that type, has done masterly work in terms of it, and that now, at the very moment when the philosopher's official message is one of ideality, the artist performs with a weary and

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almost cynical virtuosity. We have here, I think, that last infirmity, self-imitation.

The thing just said about *Time Must Have a Stop* could be said over a great deal more vindictively about *Presidential Agent*. But one hesitates to say it, for Upton Sinclair stands near the end of a long and useful career as a fighter for social justice. One does not want to appear to begrudge any rewards and honors to the old soldier. Yet there ought to be adequate ways to praise Upton Sinclair without praising the Lanny Budd cycle — though the Pulitzer Prize judges presumedly could not find that way. The present issue of the Lanny Budd series (which looks like the result of an uneasy collaboration between Dorothy Thompson and Oppenheim, touched up for style by a gifted member of the creative writing class in a junior high school) is the worst book by Upton Sinclair I have ever read, and would be a strong contender for that title in the open market. And this book, unlike some of his earlier books, such as *The Jungle* or *Boston*, which did serve to focus attention on situations and issues needing attention, serves no social purpose whatsoever. The fact that Hitler and his pals are not nice and that a lot of rich people in France and elsewhere will go to considerable lengths to hang onto their money, is not spot news in 1944. And if we go beyond considerations of news and propaganda, we can say that there are better places to get our history and very much better places to get our fiction, than in this dull, pretentious, and preposterous book.

Dull, *pretentious*, and *preposterous* are words good enough to apply to *Simone*, by Lion Feuchtwanger, a novel about Occupied France which uneasily equates its teen-age heroine with Joan of Arc. The author, of course, knows all the tricks of the trade, and the product stands forth with a high gloss. Save the surface and you save all.

There are two other German translations in our group, *Lieutenant Bertram*, by Bodo Uhse, and *The Firing Squad*, by F. C. Weiskopf. Both of these are concerned with the gradual process of moral awakening on the part of a Nazi soldier. The first of the two novels suffers from a cluttering of characters and events, and the focus is never sharply put on the hero. But it is a readable novel with some good moments. The second, which is the story of a soldier stationed in Prague, soberly plays down the horror and melodrama and makes an honest attempt, sometimes successful, to probe the mind of the hero. The report of the daily life of the barracks is consistently effective. An interesting feature of both of these novels is, of course, the political implication on the eve of German defeat.

Guerrilla, a story of partisan resistance in Greece, has all the materials of a Grade B movie, served piping hot, drenched in melted prose and Lord Dunsany's famous Old Home Brand corn syrup, clear and undefiled.

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OUR READERS COMMENT

A Solution for the Jew's Problem

To the Editor: Dr. Robert Gordis' article, "The Jews — A Problem That Cannot Wait," in your Autumn issue, sets forth with great clarity, forcefulness, and moderation the urgency and the magnitude of the problem that confronts the Jews and the conscience of the world. I share his disappointment expressed in his sentence, "In the face of this unparalleled campaign of murder [the Nazi extermination program], the United Nations have done little." Indeed I feel he has exercised too much self-restraint. He could have said, "Too little and too late."

I also endorse unreservedly Dr. Gordis' assertion that the Jews in Palestine have brought great benefits to the Arab population there, physically, economically, and socially, and, that far from exploiting them, they have shown more solicitude for them than their own *effendis*.

But I cannot go along with him in his conclusions and in the remedy he offers.

He takes an entirely too pessimistic view of the Jewish future in Europe and in the rest of the world other than Palestine. He does not, it is true, go so far as many of the most prominent Zionist leaders go who reveal a complete loss of faith in the reality of Jewish political emancipation in Europe which began in France in 1791 and was in full operation and firmly established in that country (notwithstanding the Dreyfus episode), in Great Britain, Italy, Holland, and Belgium, and the Scandinavian countries before the close of the nineteenth century, and, following the first World War, became a reality also in Soviet Russia, Czechoslovakia, and substantially also in Jugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria. But while not going as far as these Zionists in asserting that these advances, achieved since Jewish emancipation, are insecure and not to be relied upon, Dr. Gordis takes the position that no further extension of emancipation for Jews in Europe and no further opportunities for Jews to acquire full rights and dignities anywhere else in the world, except in Palestine, can be expected in the foreseeable future. He differs from the complete defeatists only in degree, not in kind, in his jeremiad of "Jewish homelessness."

At the root of both of these beliefs lies a complete loss of faith in the capacity of democracy to advance any further, which in effect means an abandonment of the belief that the human race can improve itself. I understand my colleagues' disillusionment in view of their sorrow over the age-old sufferings of our brethren and of the newer, more cataclysmic tragedies that have befallen them. I share their sorrow, but not their loss of faith in humanity.

It is by this time a universally recognized fact that the fate of all minorities is inextricably bound up with the fate of democracy. This is particularly true of the Jews who have all the handicaps of all the 57 varieties of minorities put together. The Jew therefore, it has been correctly said, is the barometer of civilization; and I may add, that he is also the thermometer who registers, in the treatment he receives from his immediate environment, the democratic weather prevailing in his own country. In the climate of freedom and equality he thrives; in the climate of injustice and oppression he pines and suffers.

Dr. Gordis asks us to take it for granted that those nations of Europe which have not already instituted real democracy are not going to do so ever, or, at all events, in the foreseeable future. That is quite a big order. It is an order that calls for our accepting as proven facts that these nations in Europe (as, for instance, Poland) which tolerated or even encouraged feudal conditions and the injustices to and exploitation of the masses, and notably their Jewish communities, that go with such conditions, have not been purified in part or in whole in the furnace of suffering they are undergoing in the war and the world revolution bound up with the war. It is an order that calls for the abandonment of the well-founded beliefs of many competent authorities that an International Migration Organization created, financed and directed by the nations of the world jointly can and would succeed in settling vast numbers of people in new homes in lands which need and desire them or are likely to desire them in the near future, such as South America, Australia, and Soviet Russia in Asia.

Brushing aside — without warrant — all these favorable factors pointing to enlarged opportunities for Jews in their old homes in Europe and in new habitats in the wide world, Dr. Gordis offers Palestine as a solution. He demands "the immediate abrogation of the White Paper, the opening of the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration, and the ultimate establishment of a democratic

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Jewish commonwealth in Palestine" as "essential steps" in this program.

On the subject of the complete stoppage of Jewish immigration called for by the White Paper and of any arbitrary restrictions whatsoever on such immigration in the future, there can be no debate. These are grossly discriminatory and unjust because applied to Jews only and in the case of the Jews cruel besides, in view of their plight, not to speak of their unique historic associations with Palestine. It is the third "essential," which is of course the keystone in Dr. Gordis' plan, as it is in all Zionists' proposals, that I take issue with.

Let us examine it at close range. The Arabs, Dr. Gordis states, will be guaranteed "all individual liberties and all group rights, including that of cultural self-development." They "are to accept a minority status with adequate safeguards of their rights." This means that the Jews are to be in control of the government and that the Arabs are to share in it only to the extent that the Jews determine that the Arabs shall do so. I have no doubt that the Jews will be more generous in their treatment of the Arabs than if the case were reversed. But the fact remains that the Arabs will, under this structure of "a democratic Jewish commonwealth" be a *less privileged class* because they will not have the right of equal participation in the ultimate direction of the commonwealth of which they are citizens, they being denied among other rights, an equal say-so in the control of immigration, which is to be in Jewish hands in order to assure a permanent Jewish majority. Yet the very essence of democracy is the right of the minority to unseat the majority and itself to become the majority.

Lest I be charged with undue leanings towards the Arabs, I hasten to say that if the Arabs asked for a democratic Arab (or Moslem) commonwealth in Palestine, I would raise precisely the same objections to it. I cannot as a liberal and a Rabbi square such violations of human rights with my conscience and my ideals.

Moreover, the injustice Dr. Gordis would condone in relation to the Arabs and other non-Jewish citizens in the proposed Jewish-controlled commonwealth in Palestine would be not only a local blow to democracy but would simultaneously undermine democracy in its very principle and in its hard-earned gains in the world at large. He is asking us to institute now, in the year 1944, the kind of a commonwealth which the Founders of the United States rejected for good and sufficient reasons in 1776, as obsolete and baneful. Jefferson, Madison, Franklin, and their associates, once and for all rejected any and all special ties between ethnic and religious groups and the new nation as inimical to its very life, and instead put

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citizenship entirely on the basis of the individual without one iota of preference based on race or stock or creed. They knew well the story of the Inquisition and the Huguenots, of the state-supported religious intolerance in Geneva in the Calvin-Melancthon era, of the enforced flight of Roger Williams, of William Penn from the Old World to the New, and of similar unhappy results of such liaisons, not to speak of the behavior of the Church-affiliated ancient and medieval states. They decided that such a special relation of State and religion, or of state and ethnic groups, was evil, incurably evil, in its very character, and disastrous for the future well-being both of the nation and the individual. Their judgment has been more than confirmed by subsequent history. This liaison between Church and State or between race and state has been the curse of the Balkan States, the bone of violent contention and the source of oppression in other nations in Europe, notably Poland and Rumania, and in many other regions of the world, among them India. Italy and France and Mexico had to go through convulsions that shook them to their various foundations, in order to cut these vicious ties. It is the same *liaison* that has caused and is causing unhappiness and disunity in Spain, the Argentine and elsewhere and which, attaining full development in Nazi Germany, came very near to destroying civilization.

Finally, as a teacher of Judaism, although I recognize that there are many colleagues who differ with me, I believe that the Jews are no longer a nation and haven't been such for nineteen hundred years; that the identification of nationality with Jews and Judaism is an obsolete, unnecessary and even harmful conception; that the great and unique contribution of the Jews to civilization has been in the field of ethics and religion through the world-redeeming concepts and the noble vision of a divinely directed world, in which all men are brothers, proclaimed by their prophets and sages and tenaciously clung to by those Jewish people who value their heritage, from antiquity to this very day. "This is our line," and the entire world our theatre of action — and not any ventures or adventures in the political field where other and more powerful religions have not always given such a good account of themselves. I don't want to see the Jews become diverted from their supreme historic pursuit by any new passion, one essentially foreign to them.

The solution for the Jewish problem, as I see it, calls for a program different in many important respects from that offered by Dr. Gordis, and one which I believe approaches much more closely to the best instincts and hopes of all people who still believe in the ability of mankind to reshape its altogether imperfect world: To accord Jews all

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Since many letters for "Our Readers Comment" were received too late to be printed in this issue, and since others were too long for the available space, we have found it necessary to postpone the publication of these letters until the next issue.

over the world equal rights, opportunities, dignities and responsible on the same basis as all other men; and to establish in Palestine, a land for which they have special affection, and where their own co-religionists want them and will help start a democratic commonwealth that shall make no discriminations whatsoever, between Jews, Arabs, Christians, and any other groups, but instead integrate them all into one just and prosperous nation, a nation which will fit into the community of nations, which is to constitute the "One World" so much desired by the emancipated of mankind. The frictions and animosities now troubling Palestine and their overflow beyond its borders, would in such a commonwealth soon abate and ultimately come to an end. I conclude with a quotation from the late Dr. Morris Jastrow's book *Zionism and the Future of Palestine*, written by that distinguished orientalist and historian in 1919 while the Versailles Peace Conference was still in session, and just as applicable to the situation today: "I should like to envisage a Palestine that may become a beacon-light for the world, that may again become a spiritual focus, furnishing further inspiration for mankind as it proceeds in its march through the ages to a still higher, albeit unknown and unknowable, goal."

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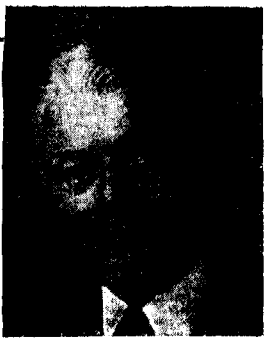

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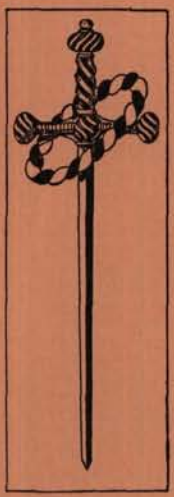

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